

Carpenter, Nathaniel.
A CHITOPHEL:
OR,
THE PICTURE OF A
Wicked **POLITICIAN.**

Diuided into three PARTS.

2. S A M. Chap. 17. Verse 23.

*And when Achitophel saw that his counsell
was not followed, hee saddled his Asse, and
arose, and gate him home, and set his house
in order, and hanged himselfe, and was bu-
ried in the Sepulchre of his Fathers.*



Printed for M. S. $\begin{array}{r} 1773 \\ 1629 \\ \hline 144 \end{array}$

A CHITOPHEL

OR

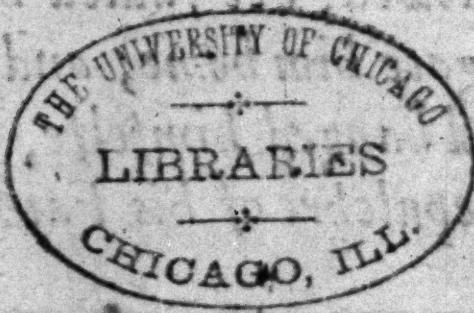
THE PICTURE OF A

WICKED MAN.

DIVIDED INTO PARTS.

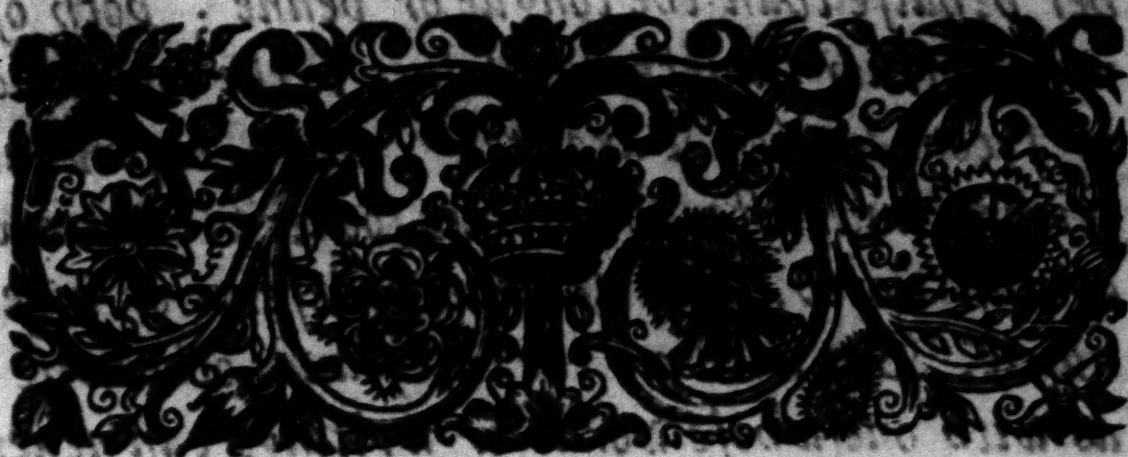
R2233
C17 A6
1629

Rare
room



Cong

Printed for N. S. 1829



To the most Reuerend Father in
God, IAMES by the Grace of God
Archbishop of *Ardmagh*, and Primate
of all IRELAND.

Most Reuerend Father in God,

MI best endeauours; long since
engaged to your Graces seruice,
haue neuer yet found them-
selues so propitiously befriended
by occasion, as to make the
World the witnesse of their
sinceritie: my deepe apprehension of your Gra-
cious fauour, which first inuited mee into those
parts, seconded by my inbred disposition, more
ambitious to expresse a thankesfull heart, than
directed to priuate ends, could not sleep with-
out some publicke acknowledgement. But it is
the greatest unhappinesse of thankesfull in-
dustrie, to entreate no better Orators to pleade in

The Epistle

her behalfe than the tongue or penne ; both of which oftner subiect themselves to the command of sycophanticke Parasites , than obseruant friends, and suffer themselves sooner to be armed against worth, than drawne in defence of ingenuitie. But with me the case stands otherwise ; as with one whose words or writings can neuer sufficiently enable themselves, eyther to commend the sinceritie of mine owne affection, or flatter the eminencie of your deserving. The one beeing set aboue expression : the other of enuie or adulation. Sorry I am, that this deformed childe of my industrie, presuming rather on the precedencie of birth than worth, should before others of his brethren (worthier in my choyce) adventure to aske your Graces patronage. But opportunity in this can challenge an advantage before worth, in that shee can as well improve the worst as crown the best. Could I haue proportioned this poor present eyther to your Graces iudicious acceptance, or my affectionate obseruance, it had cast it selfe into another mould than the modell of this slender Treatise, readier to shrinke from his patrons learned censure, than able to stand out in the Authors approbation. But such as it is, I humbly present with my selfe vnto your gracious acceptance, wishing it no other destiny than my selfe,

Dedicatorie.

selfe, whom you since my cōming hauing cherished in your fauour, haue confirmed your grateful Votarie. The subiect I here offer to your view containes the pith and matter of three Sermons, presented heretofore to my Mother the Vniuersity of Oxford, in whose name they will no doubt find an easier passage into your Graces protectiō. Not that I hold these riuulets worthy so copious & sweet a fountain whence they sprung; but that your Grace hauing often honoured our ancient Mother, as well with your acceptable presence as learned exercise, cannot but cast an indulgent eye vpon her vnworthiest children. The scene, wherein I haue bounded my discourse, presents vnto your censure a sacred Tragedy, consisting of four chief Actors, viz. Dauid an anointed King: Absolon an ambitious prince: Achitophel a wicked politician, & Chushai a loyal subiect: a passage of history for variety pleasant, for instruction vlesful, for euent admirable. If the pen-man climbe not the height of such a subiect, I shal not I hope fall below the measure of your gracious acceptance. In which confidence I shall find my ambition abundantly satisfied, and rest,

Your Graces in all Christian
duty to be commanded
N. C.

These whom you have in coming bearing cheer-
 ful in your hearts, have conferred on me
 Notarie. The subject I here offer to your view
 contains the birth and matter of three Sermons,
 presented before to my Father the University
 of Oxford, in whose university will no doubt
 find an easier passage into your Graces presence.

Not that I hold the subject worthy so copious
 a tract, a fountain whence I have drawn, but that
 your Grace having continued our ancient
 custom, as well with your acceptable presence as

The Text.

2. S. A. M. Chap. 17. Verse 23.

**And when Achitophel saw that his counsell
 was not followed, he saddled his Asse, and
 arose, and gate him home, and set his house
 in order, and hanged himselfe, and was bu-
 ried in the Sepulchre of his Fathers.**

For variety pleasant for instruction, which
 is a subject of a joyful subject: a passage of his
 for ever admirable. If the pen-man should not
 the height of such a subject, I shall not I hope fall
 below the measure of your gracious acceptance.
 In which confidence I shall find my ambition a-
 bundantly satisfied, and rest.

Your Graces in the Christian
 duty to be commanded



ACHITOPHEL,

Or

The wicked Politician.



He chiefest objects whereon *Treason Part 1.* sets it selfe a worke, are, *Ambition* and *Discontent*: whereof the former is wont to fashion the greatest hopes out of the least aduantages; the other seemes like tinder to catch fire at the first touch, and turnes the least indignitie into the greatest indignation.

This was well known to that grand *Polititian Achitophel*, who finding *Absolon Davids* sonne affected with eyther maladie, determined to apprehend the least opportunitie to execute his own malice, and *Davids* ruine. *David*, He a long time hated (as is probably coniectured by some interpreters) for the murder of *Frias* his neere affine, yet subtilty and secrecy, the two hand-maides of humane policie, stood alwaies betwixt his hypocrisie, and the kings suspition. *Absolon* he found, in the heat and pride of his youth, aboue measure ambitious of his fathers Scepters, extreamely discontent with his foule disgrace, and long banishment: The one pointed him out the way to supremacye, the other to reuenge, easily perswading his erroneous iudgement, that it seemed too small a satisfaction for

Absolon, againe to be entertained as a subiect, too great a courtesie for *Dauid* to liue a *King*. Euery houre which addes to the length of his Fathers reigne, seemes to borrow years from the threed of his expected Royaltie, and Iustice her selfe seemes to claime a part in his trayterous ambition: Such is the prerogatiue of selfe-bred actions, to shut out preiudice, and promise to themselves as much successe as they find excuse. Here *Policie* taught *Achitophel* to strike whilst the Iron was hot, and ioyne issue with the first aduantage. Time, the best moderator of hasty humors, might perhaps haue smoothed ouer *Absolons* guile, or haue slacked *Dauids* indignation: And occasions of this kinde at first let slip, are afterwards rather wisht than found. What he long plotted is now come to execution, and his expectation so long groaning with ambition and reuenge, at length rackt on the last extremitie. What his policie in prooffe deserued, it promised it selfe in mens opinions, and himselfe, the first proiector, Hee found entertained the chiefe Actor in this conspiracie.

Nothing now seemes wanting to the proiect but an open attempt to invade applause: and hostile preparations must show themselves in a readinesse, rather for formalitie than opposition; as though hee had already wonne as much, as expectation, and victorie seemed already legible in *Absolons* gracious presence, and the peoples forward acclamations. But such consultations neuer speed well, where God is excluded the Counsell Table, and *Hope*, which vsually flatters the ambitious with the best successe, oftentimes betrays them to the worst.

Dauid all this while lyes secure, as one who out of a fatherly ingenuitie might sooner expect the hostile inuasion of a forreine enemy, than the secret stratagems of so deare a friend: For what indulgent Parent could feare his own ouerthrow to spring out of his owne bowels? Or there to finde the ruine of himselfe, where hee hoped to erect the Trophee of his name and memory? But treason at length earlly knocking at his doores, awakes his sleep-
ing

ing ieaiousie ; and time it is to flye vnto forreine succours, where he findes his owne sonnes and subiects the forgers of seditious treason and vnnaturall rebellion. But that great Counseller which turneth humane wisedome into folly, and directs all purposes to his own ends, is not wanting to his seruant *Dauid*, making earnest intercession: *Chusay* is secretly suborned by *Dauid*, vnder the pretence of loue and seruice, as a supposed friend, but disguised enemy, to creepe into *Absolons* bosome, and oppose *Achitophel* that transcendent Polititian: *Achitophel*, who as an Oracle of God had for his deep wisedome hitherto passed currant, is now shut out, and *Chusay* this new Counsellour admitted audience. Here begins the dawning of *Dauids* happy deliuerance, and *Achitophels* deserved tragedie; for as the distemper of our first concoction (as *Naturalists* obserue) is seldome or neuer corrected in the second; so the first ground-worke in State policie, ill layd or tempered, can afterwards scarce promise a reformation. But Princes actions are commonly confin'd to noother lawes than their owne wils, and bootlesse it is for *Achitophel* to giue further counsell where he wants perswasion: Despair and indignation are at hand to second his repulse: and nothing now seemes left him for refuge (so far as the eye of his worldly policie could discern) but the preuention of *Dauids* officers in his shamelesse execution: And when *Achitophel* saw that his counsell was not followed, &c.

2 This parcell of Scripture, containing a brieue history of *Achitophels* last Actions and End, naturally shoots into these two branches: first his *Prouocation*: secondly, his *Action*: the *Prouocation* was the neglect of his counsell, expressed in the former words of my Text [*And when Achitophel saw that his counsell was not followed*] His actions are deciphered in the latter clause [*Hee saddled his asse, and arose, &c.*] In the *Prouocation* or motine wee may obserue these two circumstances. First, what *Achitophels* counsell was, and wherein it consisted. Secondly how, and which way it was defeated. To beginne with the first, wee may

reduce his *Policie* into two heads: for it consisted, either in his apt *choyce*, or wise *direction*: the former was euident, in that he took aduantage of such a *Subject* to countenance his Rebellion, who amongst all the children of *Israel* was the likeliest to go farthest. *Absolons* birth, feature, *plausibilitie*, and high spirit seemed to speake him a King at first sight: as though nature and industrie, policie and valour stood in competition which should challenge most in his aduancement. In the first place to examine his *birth*, we shall finde him a Kings sonne: and although the second of his fathers race, yet the first in the peoples hope. Of the eldest little mention is left vs saue the name, as of one by impotence of nature, or disasterous influence of the stars, halfe canceled out of the Catalogue of *Dauids* sonnes: besides the claime and title to his fathers kingdome, but newly began, and not yet establisht on succession, gave no small encouragement to his high ambition: where birth-right affords no certaine challenge to kingly dignitie, and the fathers choise in designing out his successor is scarce reputed warrantable, what other obstacle can stand betwixt him and Soueraigntie, but Gods immediate will, or the Peoples suffrage? The former (as it seemes) hee little regarded, as one who eyther doubted of his prouidence, or shewed himselfe too confident of his conuience: the latter as a matter out of question seemed sooner found than fought. As though opinion, which had so long fawned on his worth, could as easily perswade their suffrage, as command their seruice. Had yet any sense of religion, or care of the publicke good inuaded the mindes eyther of yong *Absolon* the Prince, or *Achitophel* the old counsellour, they might first of some Prophet or other haue enquired Gods secret purpose of depressing *Dauid*, and exalting *Absolon*: or at least haue esteemed hereditary succession the best challenge: Well might Gods almighty hand disdain opposition, which neuer yet met resistance, and common equitie, haue stampt that currant which customary right, and the law of nature had already establisht

blisht amongst most nations. But their designe is not grounded vpon Gods law, or natures priuiledge, but their owne seeming aduantage; as though the diuine counsell ought to stoope to humane policie, and nature forsake the scene where worldly wisdom comes in action. Behold here the first and chiefest character of a worldly wise Politician, who cares little how great a rupture he make through Gods sacred lawes and common equitie to meet with his own aduantage, choosin rather to lose his soule than his wicked purpose; as one by Patent allowed to dispense with any obligation of conscience and religion. Hence may easily be discovered the error of vulgar iudgments, who measuring inward sufficiencies by the improuement of our outward fortunes, repute those men wisest which rise highest: But true wisdom in whose scale consists the choyce of the best ends and fittest means, hath taught vs rather to entertaine than serue preferments; and prize the quiet calme of a settled conscience, before the stormy gusts of ambitious greatnesse. Tis not the want of wit to proiect, but of wickednesse to practise, which keepes vertue poore, and desert vnregarded: neither are great aduancements the vsuall badges of great worth.

2 The second thing whereof *Achitophel* tooke aduantage in *Absolons* person, was his faire and comely feature. *Absolon* amongst all the children of *Israel*, was reputed the fairest: His louely visage, disheuled haire, the seemely symmetry and proportion of all his parts were as so many silent Orators to bespeake applause, and perswade affection. Our friends and foes we seldome owe to choyce but Nature, which stamps in euery mans face her especiall characters of beautie and deformitie, of loue and hatred, ordaining them rather commanders of our fancie, than seruants to our discretion. Whence *Aristotle* had good cause to make this comely feature of the body, one of the complements of humane happinesse; as that which giues the habite of our vertues a more glorious lustre, and opens

a more speedy passage to *Heroicke actions*. What greater motiue could haue happened to a seditious multitude, whose affections, led rather by sense than reason, are better taught to fawne on shewes than substance, and swallow the most poysonous drugges in golden pilles. Nothing more dangerous than painted sinne, and vgly vice couched vnder the protection of a comely countenance, will lose the name, and seeme a vertue. So much is the bewitching power of a beauteous personage to inchant the wisest iudgement, that perswasion is oftner found in the Orator than the Argument, as though his lookes went as herbingers before his language, to prepare a roome, and entertaine attention. Of these eminent gifts of nature, notwithstanding not granted to our free choyce, but rather trusted to our husbandry, no question but Almighty God the lender, will expect an interest. Hee that eyther hides his Talent in the ground, or mis-spends his portion, shall finde the reward of a faithlesse seruant: Much more such gracelesse Tenants, who turne their endowments to their worst vses, and make Gods munificent gifts the meanes and ground-worke of wicked and irreligious actions. Where God sowes hee expects his harvest in the same kinde: and no graine so meane in our estimation, out of which in proportion he requires not a timely crop. But where hee findes our industrie slacke in performance of this duty, or our malice opposite to his profit, he commonly workes his own ends out of our iniquities; and what parts and endowments we abuse to sinne, he iustly directs vnto reuenge.

4 At *bird* aduantage in *Absolons* person suggested to *Acbitophels* obseruation, was his faire carriage and popular *plausibilitie*. A sweet and courteous deportment, seasoned with moralitie and religion, neuer wants deserved commendation; as the surest character of an ingenuous disposition, and the most powerfull seruant of honest policie. For as in our most religious actions, wee should study rather to profit than to please our auditors: yet who neuer affects

affects to please, shall seldome haue the happinesse to profit. So much more in ciuill affaires, the best improvement is popular estimation : and vertue, though neuer so eminent, shall scarce be reputed currant, if not stamp't by applause, or crowned with common approbation.

—— *Non te quasueris extra*

seemes rather an axiome of a speculatiue and retired *Stoicke*, than a practicke *Statist*. An vpright and honest man (I confesse) would rather find himselfe at home in his owne conscience, than seeke himselfe abroad in other mens opinions : as one, whose first care ought to bee to forme himselfe to Gods will, and his owne content, his second to husband his meanes to mens applause ; yet comes this farre short to disproue an affable and kinde behauour, or countenance a harsh or *Cynicall* disposition. Had no other affection than this, possessed the soule of *Absolon*, or in him presented it selfe to *Achitophels* obseruation ; discretion might haue pleaded in the behalfe of the former, and honesty of the latter ; and neither haue wanted its deserued commendation : the one perhaps might haue been thought ambitious, to inherit as well the peoples loue, as his fathers vertues : the other, to haue applauded his Princes happinesse in the peoples loue. Neuerthelesse *popularitie* at the best is a fauour which wise and discreete subiects sooner winne than affect : beginning vsually with the *Princes* ielousie, and ending with the owners ruine. The defect might better become a subiect, the excesse a King: neither euer had those *Arbenian Ostracismes* found place in Iustice, had not popular greatnesse threatened the state with danger or dissolution: How much more dangerous shall wee esteeme this popularity of *Absolon*, springing from a rotten and corrupted heart, managed by wicked meanes, and directed to a treacherous conspiracy?

Three especiall stratagems were here put in practice, which might well seeme fashioned in *Achitophels* forge. For the sending of *Absolon* for *Achitophel* to *Hebron*, exclude

cludes not a former consultation; neither is it probable, he would so far haue trusted him with his secret counsels, had he not first found him inclining to his faction. The first engine of his seditious purpose, was, his *Glossing*, and fine complement, both in *words* and *gesture*, whereby hee was said to *steale away the hearts of the people from his father Dauid*: he vsually stood in the palace gate, hee obserued the approach of suiters, hee examined their particular grievances, enquired the place of their abode: finally, he kissed and embraced them, O (saith he) *that I were made Iudge in the Land, that I might heare every mans cause, and do him Iustice*. What zealous subiect almost out of the seeming simplicitie of his words, would not swell with expectation, and become as prodigall in his hopes, as the other in his promises? The distance between *Princes* and *primate* men, makes vs often oueralue courtesies, and the indiscovery of such mens natures causeth diuers times their worst actions to carry the best construction: but great promises are comonly seconded by smal or slow performances; and an easie matter it is to be ouer prodigall on the score, where we neuer intend a payment. To boast wisely of our actions and sufficiencies, howsoeuer opposite to simple modestie or plaine-dealing honesty, was neuer accounted a *solacisme* in the iudgling art of *humane policie*. But admit *Absolon* in this case had promised to himselfe as much as the people, and suffered his confidence to spread her wings beyond his abilities: yet serues this little, to excuse his action from vnnaturall *disobedience*, or masked *treacherie*. It was the part of a shamelesse *Cham* to bee an industrious spectator of his fathers nakednesse: of a rayling *Rabshakeb* or cursing *Shimei*, to diuorce him from his Subiects hearts. Nature would haue perswaded a gracious childe with *Noahs* two modest sons, to haue lookt awry, or gone backward, no sooner to see ere hee could hide his fathers shame. Allegiance might haue instructed a loyall Subiect to prize his Soueraignes credit before his owne, and drowne his greatest honours in his Princes seruice. But
setting

Setting aside these neere and high relations of a Sonne to his father, or a Subiect to his Prince, the diuision and diuorce of friends to a generous temper, euen amongst the Heathens themselves, hath alwayes seemed a wicked reuenge, or base ambition. Honour seldome bestowes her fauours, but on such as win them in open fielde: and Heroicke spirits haue alwayes chosen rather dearly to buy, than basely to steale a victorie. To steale away the hearts of our friends, fauours more of a fleering Parasite than a wise Politician; and to seeke secret ambushes in case of open triall, argues rather the weakenesse of our cause, than the strength of our discretion. Neuerthelesse this seemed a good ground for *Absolon* to set, and *Achitophel* to worke on: And little can true wisdom or Religion perswade in the *Reare*, where wicked *politic* commands the *Vant-guard*. A second stratageme put in practice by *Absolon*, and perhaps plotted by *Achitophel*, to augment his owne plausibilitie, was, publickely to slander his fathers gouernment with iniustice and oppression. The same Art which taught him to flatter his inferiours, instructed him the way to calumniat his superiours: So neere are these two opposite vices knit together in a wicked cause. See (quoth *Absolon*) (after examination of each Sutor) *thy cause is iust and good, but there is no man deputed of the king to heare thee.*

David began now to decline, as well in strength as gouernment. Age and Disease commonly grow together: and where the master begins once to droope, the seruants prone eyther carelessly negligent, or lawlessly insolent. These inconueniences perhaps admitted by *Dauids* Officers, and obserued by *Absolon*, rendred him obuiousto exception. Greatest places are commonly subiect to the greatest censures: But when Almighty God was neuer wanting to *David*, I cannot imagine *David* to bee much wanting vnto his people. And although Strength and Valour, the darlings of his youth, began in him to faint, yet Wisdom and Experience, the children of his riper age,

age, stept in to vndertake his quarrell. No otherwise then can we interpret this exception of *Absolon* against his Father, than a *malitious slander*, deuised for no other end, than to make him odious, and himselfe acceptable; which hee by so much the more hoped easily to effect, by how much hee saw the giddy *multitude* (as at all times, so) especially in this declining age of *David*, as desirous of *Neweltie*, as subiect to *discontent*. The best Gouvernours seldome please long, and the worst may for a time. Worth is seldome so eminent as in the absence: And the best Magistrates, like the Images of *Brutus* and *Cassius* (related by *Tacitus*) seeme then most glorious, when they are most wanting. Enuie and Detraction, like two venomous Serpents, lurke alwayes in the path of Iustice: and the best Rulers seldome finde the freest passage. He that goes about to perswade a multitude they are not so well gouerned as they ought to bee, shall sooner want argument than attention. The reason wherof (as a learned man hath obserued) is, because the abuses and corruptions in euery State most ineuitable, are (for the most part) sensible to vulgar capacities; but the *hinderances* of Reformation only apparant to men of experienced iudgements. As easie was it here for *Absolon* to slander, as to speake: his eyes could no sooner open, but espie some obiect or other to animate his owne proiects, or the peoples discontent. Such is the boundlesse malice of base Informers, with the venome of their aspicke tongues, to poyson our sincerest actions, and present, as in a Perspective, the least mites and mole-hills of our imperfections like huge and mighty Mountaines. This found *David* in the midst of a calme and settled State, when mischief had scarce yet known her own strength, nor time as yet teemed with all the engines of gracelesse villany. What then shall wee now expect in these *dogged* *dayes* of the worlds declining age, wherein malitious detraction is esteemed the quintessence of wit, and an ingenuous acknowledgement of mens good deserving, accounted too great a courtesie? Surely the best reuenge I can
here

here inuent for innocence, can be no other than *protes & lachryma*, the armour of a Christian, and that constant resolution of the sweete *Psalmist*, *I will pray yet against their wickednesse*. The third and greatest imposture *Absolon* practised to make himselfe plausible, was the pretence of *Religion*: A vow hee pretended at least, to haue made of his return to *Hebron*, and there praising God after his safe returne to *Ierusalem*. *Dauid* is sollicit to consent vnto his iourney: neither could such a petition brooke a deni- all, which comes vsuhered in vnder the shew of a religious office. *Hebron* seemed to *Dauid* a place fit for sacrifice, to *Absolon* for conspiracie. *Ierusalem* was too neere his fathers sight, or rather too farre from his treacherous purpose to admit of such a wicked Conuenticle. The meeting of such Conspirators so neere the Court, might soon haue opened the eyes of sleeping ieaousie, and betrayed the treason to disconerie: *Dauids* countenance might perhaps haue daunted the courage of his friends, or haue wonne their loues. And lest the peoples affection to *Absolon* should grow cold in his absence, he leaues behind him his *Parasites* to sollicite his cause, and at his approach to giue the signall. Moreover to strengthen himselfe the better against publicke hostility, or priuate mistakes, hee carries with him a garrison from *Ierusalem* to defend his person, and sends for *Ahitophel* to *Hebron*, to direct his counsaile. Nothing but the pretence of *Religion* could be thought a fit vizzard to hide the face of this dangerous conspiracie, from the sight of suspicion. Deceit neuer thrines better, than when she least seemes her selfe: and Vice seldome dares to shew her selfe in publicke, vnlesse she steale the robes of vertue, and actuate her malice with flye hypocrisie. *Satan* transformes himselfe into an Angell of light, when hee intends the greatest mischief, and instructs his disciples in the like Policie. This hath bene the Diuels shift and practice in all ages: neither euer comes wickednesse better armed than with the shew of seeming sanctitie. *Ieroboam* the Sonne of *Nabal* who

made *Israel* to sinne, had no other pretence than Religion to withdraw the ten Tribes from *Ierusalem*, by setting vp a new Idolatry. The *Scribes* and *Pharisees* in the *New Testament*, who vnder colour of *Fasting* and long *Prayer*, deuoured Widowes houses, professed the most rigorous and strict obedience of the *Law*. Amongst the three sects in *Ierusalem* in the time of the siege by *Titus* and *Vespasian*, *Iosephus* obserued those to haue been the most notoriously wicked, who termed themselves the *zealous*. But alas *Pandora's* boxe was not yet emptie: the most of euils was reserued to these last and worst times, wherein the greatest sinnes are accounted *Articles of Faith*, and a sincere profession stiled *Heresie*. *Ignatius* had not yet sent his broode into the world with the *Popes* patent, as so many *Pedlers*, to sell *damnation*: Nor the *Tridentine Councell* concluded, that Idolatry and Superstition should passe for true Religion. But since the approach of this *Medusa's* head, the world seemes to haue suffered a fatall *Metamorphosis*, and wonders to finde her selfe so grosse a changling. Could our small scantling of time dispence so farre as the disco-uerie of the *Romane Church*, we should finde their whole Religion to be little other than a *politicke hypocrisie*, directed to nothing else, but gaine or greatnesse; pretending nothing but *pietie*, professing little else than malice or prophanenesse. What vulgar iudgement can interpret otherwise of their *pedlers packe* of *Indulgences*, and sundry other superstitious iuglings, but as of a meere merchandise of *Soules*, wherein euery gracelesse *Paricide*, as in a common *Market*, at the hands of a mercenarie Priest, may cheapen and buy his own saluation? Had all the *Achitophels* or *Ab-solons* in the world lost their *politicke inuentions*, they might (I suppose) finde them againe improued in this *State-Religion*. No dis-vnion of the *Church* so small, which their rigorous constitutions pronounce not *heresie*: No sinne so haynous, for which their Pope dares not grant a dispensation: As though sanctitie consisted not in the in-ternall disposition of the man, but in the outward confor-

mitie

mitie of the Church, and Pietie, were pinned on the sleeve of worldly *Policie*. This politicke sinne of *hypocrisie*, I no sooner lose among the *Romanists*, than I finde againe amongst our homebred *Scismaticks*. A sect of men, I confesse, with whom I should hardly grapple, stood they not armed in my way. How much the odious name of a *Puritan* hath abused many a sincere Christian, wee may learne by the writings of *Beccanus* the *Iesuite*, who hath paralleld our *Puritans* in *England*, with the *Huguenots* of *France*, and the *Calvinists* of *Germany*: or not to go so far abroad, we may well see in some of our own mungrell *Dinnes*, who as it were betwixt hawke and buzzard, can see nicely to distinguish betwixt a *Puritan* in opinion, and a *Puritan* in discipline: and haue taught the name contrary to the first institution, so farre to enlarge it selfe, that a *Protestant* must make a hard shift (eyther by *Popery* or *Arminianisme*) to saue himselfe harmelesse. But with such mens humors I neuer sided, to whom I professe my selfe as opposite in Affection, as in Opinion. Neuerthelesse I haue obserued in the world a sort of *People*, of a malignant spirit, enuying in others what they want in themselves, hauing commonly neither will to learne, nor wit to teach; neither humility to obey, nor discretion to command: Yet (forsooth) will they seeme so precise and contemptuous of other men, as if *Religion* might be quoted in their looks, and *Sanctitie* were onely engaged to their seruice. These can sooner espye a *Mote* in other mens eyes, than a *Beame* in their own: as though *Conscience* were set to the height of their *Spleene*, and *Zeale* were neuer taught any language but *detraction*. Sometimes, like those ancient *Andabates*, they fight with their eyes shut, striking the man that stands next: Or like vnskillfull *Gunnners* discharge their shot ere they approach the marke: other times perhaps they take their ayme; yet so, as they seeme to mistake the *Man* for the *Matter*, as if they intended to spare the *Vice*, and wound the *Person*. Hence are *Pulpits* become like *Romane Pasquils*, sticke full of malicious slanders and infamous

mous *libels*, apter to disturbe the *Passion* than informe the *Conscience*. But such fiery spirits I carelesly passe over scarce worth a *Schollers* pen ; in whose greatest down-fall can scarce bee hoped the honour of a victory. But having dwelt so long on this last circumstance, I must (leaving many matters behinde) follow my first man *Achitophel* observing *Absolon*.

5 The fourth and last aduantage obserued by *Achitophel* in *Absolons* disposition, was, his stout courage, and manly resolution. What greater argument of valour, than to rouze a Lion in open chase, and promise to himselfe a passage to victory through the iawes of danger, and deposition of a lawfull King? *Dauids* fortunate successe he might well haue read in *Goliabs* ouerthrow, and the yoke imposed on the furious *Philistines*. Time had not yet razed the *Trophees* of his triumphant youth, nor age cancelled from his countenance the Characters of his vndaunted courage. The subuersion of a stately kingdome was neuer esteemed an easie conquest : And Soueraigntie seemes a Centre, vnto which Prouidence hath chalked out the lines of few mens ambition. Tis more than one *Hesperian* Dragon of difficultie and disaster, which is set to guard this *Golden Tree* : And what combate can be expected, but of such a Captaine, whose least feare is his greatest danger? Yet *Absolon*, engaged by *Achitophels* aduice, vnder-takes the combate. *Absolons* stout heart giues sudden fire to his ambition, and *Achitophels* counsell stands in readinesse to backe and strengthen his ambitious courage : the one to Act, the other to Proiect ; the meanes his aduancement. Strength and Policie, which seldome shake hands, are here accorded, or at least, for a time they will entertaine a truce. *Achitophel* beeing confident enough of his counsell, required no fitter instrument to actuate his malice, than *Absolons* couragious resolution ; knowing right well that nothing could proue more preiudicial to a *State*, than armed madness. This is no small worke of worldly policy, to stand aloofe, and giue ayde to wicked purposes,

and

and abuse the hasty humours of hot spirits to their owne advantage. Which may bee well obserued in our latter *Machiussians*, who haue deliuered this precept as a principle; *Make no difference betweene an euill seruant and a good, but vse them both to thy own ends.* *Cateline*, thirsting for nothing more than the ruine of his country, and expiation of his disgrace receiued from the Senate, could make vse as well of the pride of *Lentulus*, as the rash valour of *Cethegus*: The high blood of the one, and the fiery spirit of the other, serued him to good purpose: the one to countenance, the other to animate his wicked action. In like sort the Persian Nobilitie (as we reade in *Zenophon*) enraged against *Artaxerxes* their King, sought occasion to side with the valour of the *Grecians*, and stirre vp the high spirit of *Cyrus* the younger brother, to reuenge himselfe against the elder. The fairest colours are subiect to the deepest stains, and the most free and eminent dispositions are commonly obuious to the greatest alterations, and suffer themselves to be soonest poysoned, if once tempted with vaine-glory or discontent. No maruell then if the sonnes of *Achitophel*, suruiuing in our times, instructed by their fathers counsell, take advantage to worke their owne ends out of other mens discontented passions. If a search were made, some (I feare) would be found amongst vs as farre transcending *Achitophel* in malice, as perchance they come short of him in wit and policie: who daily labour to fasten on their associates the badge of their own virulent disposition; for which perhaps, besides the glory of their own shame, they cannot with *Achitophel*, so much as pretend a cause, or deuise an end. But such men shall surely answer as well for their own seducements, as other mens transgression: neither shall our faults herein bee reputed lesse, than the interest we challenge in our Brothers friendship. It is the part of the foulest Spider out of the fairest flowers to sucke poyson: Of industrious Bees out of stinking Hemlocke to gather Honey. And those who would rather bee accounted Bees than Spiders, should rather

ther labour to improve the worst humours to some good temper, than pervert the best vnto vngodly actions. In the former wee should follow Gods owne example, who directs, and disposes wicked mens actions to his own good purposes: in the latter the Diuels, who takes occasion out of the most sacred things to worke mischief. Hitherto (Beloued) haue wee taken a suruay of *Achitophels* wicked policie in electing a fit subiect, and apprehending of his best opportunities for the treason. The next point left to our examination, is, his *Direction*: the which while I, according to my small scantling of time, and your patience, (I feare already tyred) shall strue to open, my small in-sight in worldly policie, shall (I hope) excuse my errors, or at least the discourse of so great a mischief, deserue your best attention.

6 Thus long haue wee beheld *Achitophel*, as in his private study, designing out a fit subiect, whereby to work his reuenge on *Dauid*. We are now to obserue him fitting in counsell, and instructing *Absolon*. The aduice hee gaue, we find to be twofold: The first *subordinate* and *preparatory* to strengthen the *faction*: The second *last* and *principall* to execute the action, and secure the successe. In the former he counsels *Absolon* to goe in, and abuse his Fathers Concubines: *Goe in* (quoth he) *to thy Fathers Concubines, whom hee hath left to keepe the house, and when all Israel shall heare that thou art abhorred of thy Father, the hands of all that are with thee, shall be strong.* In which counsell we may obserue a double proiect: first in securing his own, and his friends estate: secondly, in vniting the people more firmly to *Absolons* obedience. Neither in this stept he besides his policie: He serued himselfe first, and his Master no other-wise than for himselfe; and thought that counsell lost, as ill bestowed on *Absolon*, wherein hee could not promise himselfe either safety or aduancement. Hee thought it ill siding with a doubtfull rebell, or inconstant friend. *Absolon*, howsoeuer professedly hee had engaged himselfe to *Treason*, might deceiue his opinion, or faile his expectation.

tion. His pretended discontent towards his father, might (for ought he knew) bee onely personated, to make triall of their allegiance, or his resolution inconstant to forfeit them to danger. *Absolon*, though a Traytor, was yet a *Sonne*. *David*, though prouoked, was yet a *Father*. No *Gordian* knot was euer so cunningly knit by policie, which nature cannot cut, or time dissolue. The priuiledge of youth, or prerogative of a *Sonne* may make this action seeme rather a scape, than a sin. His faults, how great soeuer, will seeme rather *Achitophels*, than his owne. And that which Iustice in others will tearme *Treason*, indulgence in him will interpret *weaknesse*. *David* may remit, and *Absolon* reconcile, what the one suffered, and the other acted: and then must *Achitophel* and his associates eyther stand at stake to maintaine their Masters action, or hazzard their liues on the brittle confidence of the Kings mercy. The breach of a sonnes disloyaltie may perchance bee peeced vp with filiall submission: but *Achitophels* reuolt seemes to expect no issue but death or victory. The middle way in policie is alwayes reiected as dangerous, and the extreame requires the most desperate, and extreame attempts. *Achitophel* is not here wanting to himselfe; *Absolon* must yet be engaged to a more *Notorious* action, vncapable of forgiveness, wherein all *Israel* may reade his absolute reuolt, and his Fathers greatest indignation. *Absolon* must be known neither to regard, or hope for his fathers reconciliation. *Dauids* anger must bee thought inexorable, as that which Iustice requires, and the honour of a king commands. If *Absolon* hope to wedde the Throne of *Israel*, hee must first violate his Fathers Bed: and to this his notorious act of treason, let him further adde the sinne of incest. Petty crimes are the effects of inferiour offenders; *Absolon* must bee thought as great as himselfe: as one, who would play the King as well in his sins, as his ambition. Neither can this wickednesse bee safe or shamefull enough, if secret. Secrecie, which in other matters commonly proues the mother of securitie, is here reputed the nurse of danger, and Guilt, which vsually shunneth the light, is here desirous of discoverie. To sinne closely, argues
D
eyther

either feare or modestie: neither of which can protect a rebell, or beseeke a King. *Set up a Tent* (quoth Achitophel) *on the house toppe, that all Israel may witness thy sinne, and thy fathers shame, and make the world at once both blush and wonder.* Let thy Brother Ammon sinne in a corner to decline censure: Sinne thou in publicke to strike censure speechlesse, and out-face the severest frownes of Iustice. Let Ammon commit incest with his Sister: Go thou in vnto thy Fathers Concubines. What was the weakenesse of lust in him, ought to be the strength of thy aspiring greatnesse. Thy greatest safety consists in thy greatest villany: and the least blush seemest to betray thy cause to diffidence and danger. Let Ruben trespasse with one of his Fathers wives: Go thou in vnto ten of thy Fathers Concubines; that this thy fact at once may surmount both example and imitation. Then the *hands of all that are with thee shall be strong*: They shall speede no worse than Absolon, and therefore ought to feare no more. To fall with our Captaine seemes the least duty: To rise with him the greatest honour: and who but a Coward would feare to hazzard the life of a Subiect, to make a King? Great dangers and great honours beginne and end in the same circle: Neyther is the path strowed with Violets and Roses, but death and slaughter, which leades to the rents of Victorie. This was Achitophels first counsel, as dangerous to decline, as desperate to execute: But desperate and extreame purposes are engaged to the like meanes; and sincere honesty in the course of policie, where she findes not her selfe admitted as the chiefe Mistresse, will seldome proue a trusty seruant.

7 Out of this counsell of Achitophel, not onely plotted by himselfe, but acted by Absolon, will arise two especiall observations: The first is, the fulfilling of Gods iudgement, and Nathans prophetic, threatned before to David for his sinning with Bathsheba, and Uriahs murder. *Behold* (saith God through the mouth of Nathan) *I will raise up euill against thee out of thine owne house, and will take thy wives before thine eyes, and will giue them vnto thy neighbour, and he shall lye with thy wives in the sight of the Sunne: for thou diddest it secretly, but I will doe this thing before*

before all Israel, and before the Sunne. Such is the wisdom of Almighty God, which can worke his owne good out of our wickednesse, and make our vniust actions the instrumentall examples of his owne iustice. Our very sinnes, though false traytors to the owners, proue true executioners of Gods iudgements: and an easie matter it is for that wise disposer of all worldly actions, to turne mans greatest shame into his greatest glory. Secondly, we may obserue it as a *Maxime* in worldly policie, That a sinne can seldome secure it selfe, but by addition of greater. Where the house is swept and garnished, and one Devil is too little to enter, *seuen Devils* greater than himselfe, are prest to giue a fresh assault: For there is no way left for sinne to propagate its power, but sinne; nor can truth euer be entreated to aduenture her selfe as a pledge for faithhood, or stake her credit for a professed enemy. Religious prouidence, and worldly policie, may (I confesse) sometimes runne together, but seldome shake hands. The path of the one, as a strait line, we finde alway as one, and like it selfe: of the other, crooked, and various, and engaged to many difficulties. If euer they chance to meete, it is but as in a point, and so soone part. The further then we runne in this maze of worldly policie, the further we estrange our selues from Pietie: and the distance, which at first seemed below the Sense, will at length be found aboue the vnderstanding. Euery ponderous substance (as *Naturalists* obserue) the more it descends, the faster the motion: No moment of space or time, wherein we trauerse the way of wickednesse, which addes not some weight to the masse burthen of our originall impietie, and hastens not our passage to perdition. One sinne seekes to secure it selfe by many, and smaller crimes finde no safe protection, but in the shelter of the greater. *Treason* and *Usurpation* cannot support themselves, but by the sword of *Tyranny*. *Malice* inuokes *Reuenge* to helpe her, assisted with her servants, *Murther* and *Detraction*. *Ingratitude* will soone breake into open defiance, and neglect of Gods precepts is commonly seconded with *Contempt*, at the least when all others withdraw their forces, *Impudence* and *Hypocrisie* are twaine to backe

some may

their quarrell; whereof the former can out-face the severest censure, the latter blinde the eyes of the strictest inquisition. Who cannot here observe a great distance between *Christian* and *worldly* policie? The one counsailes vs to make vp the breach of our sinnes by a sincere repentance; the other to enlarge it with greater villany. *Binde not two sinners together, for in one thou shalt not scape unpunished*, saith the wisest of Kings. But these *Politicians* holding themselves wiser than the wisest, hold repentance base, and perseverance in sinne generous. Nobler they suppose it to adventure forward with danger, than retire backe with shame; as though they meant to shew themselves industriously resolute to sell their part in heaven, and purchase their owne damnation. But these we must leaue a while to their owne resolutions, perhaps we shall find them againe, with *Achitophel* hanging on the gallowes; whose second and last counsaile, offers it selfe in the next place to our examination.

8 Hitherto hath *Achitophels* care bin to strengthen the faction, both to secure himselfe, and vnite the hearts of *Israel* more firmly to *Absolon* their leader. His second *Direction* concernes the speeding of the execution; *Let me now choose out* (quoth *Achitophel*) *twelve thousand men, and I will arise, and pursue after David this night, and I will come upon him while he is wearie and weake-banded, and make him affraid, and all the people which are with him shall flie, and I will smite the King onely, and I will bring back all the people vnto thee. The man whom thou seekest, is as if all returned: So all the people shall be in peace.* In which politicke aduice of *Achitophels*, three remarkeable circumstances offer themselves to our obseruation; which by reason of the scantling of time, and your wronged patience, I shall be constrained rather to touch, than handle. In the first place, his desire was to haue as well as his *Head* in the conspiracie, so his *Hand* in the execution: perhaps because hee hated *David*, hee was ambitious to shew himselfe the executioner of his owne revenge and *Dauids* ruine; perhaps out of *vaine-glorie*, that he might seeme as able to act, as wise to project a mischief; perhaps out of an officious flattery to engage *Absolon*

solons thankfulnesse by a double service : But that which seemes to mee most probable, was his extreame ieaousie, not daring to trust so young an experience with a matter of so great moment. *Absolons* youth seemed perchance too shallow to entertaine the depth of his directions, his bloud too neere to out-face the frowns of a fathers anger, or the awe of filiall duety, could not be supposed a fit actor in *Dauids* Tragedie. The hardest Iron at the first touch of the *Load-stone* is restored to its first temper, and conceiues a *Magneticke* inclination. And why might not *Dauids* fiery assault, or gracious countenance in his rebellious sonne *Absolon*, enforce nature to return vnto herselfe, and kindle in him the sparkes of filiall duty and obedience? Here may a man reade the state and condition of wicked policie, exposed to a thousand dangers, and subiect to a thousand ieaousies. Well may such men, as *Damocles* at *Dionysius* Table, feed their hopes with the choicest dainties; yet *Gods* fearfull iudgements, as a sword pendulous ouer their heads, is alwaies ready to threaten a destruction. 'Tis not then a good, but an euill conscience which makes men cowards: Onely hee, who wants guilt, wants feare; and nothing but a cleare conscience can challenge true mother-hood in a courageous resolution. The second point we obserue in *Achitophels* counsaile, was a stratagem of *Diuerfion*: His quarrell was not against the people, but *Dauid*; his purpose to preserue the Kingdome, but destroy the King: and therefore thought it not so meete to hew out his passage to *Dauids* ouerthrowe through the bloud of the subiects, as by the Kings forfeit, to purchase them to *Absolons* obedience. His first care was to strike at the roote it selfe, well knowing the branches would fall of their owne accord; and the peoples alleageance once dead in *Dauid*, would soone quicken againe in *Absolon*. The strength of *Israel* is shut vp in the Princes palace; and the same power which conquers the one, is soone master of the other. This counsaile seemes to partake as well of good as bad: with the death of one, to redeem the life of many, in the rigorous lawes of hostility, seemes not a duety, but a great courtesie: But to sell a King to buy a kingdome, and stake one

Prince for many subjects, is lesse than courtesie, and more than cruelty. Neither was this course affected by *Achitophel* to spare the liues of innocents, or anoid a greater mischief; but that he found it an easier way to conquer *David*, and reduce the people vnder the yoke of *Absolons* iurisdiction. The good which politicians vse to pretend, commonly swels in shew, but shrinkes in substance: as the Ocean, they would seeme to flow in their kindneses, and embrace vs with twining armes, as the waues the continent; but seeking to lay hold on them, we find them commonly to ebbe into nothing, and snatch backe their owne with some aduantage. If they chance to be authors of any good, it serues only to flatter opinion, and deceiue simplicity; not that they loue good, but that they may be the better armed to worke mischief. To commit *euill* for a *good* end, seemes to beare a better pretence before men, than excuse before God: but to suffer, or act some *good* for an *euill* end, is the height of mans wickednesse, and the Diuels institution. The third and last circumstance in this *Achitophels* counsaile, was, by a suddaine and vnexpected assault, to take the best aduantage of his owne strength and *Dauids* weaknesse. *I will* (saith he) *suddenly fall on David while he is wearie and weak-banded, and the people shall flee.* To ioyne with mens misfortunes and adde to misery, serues rather basenesse of the man, than confidence of the cause; and to second Gods afflictions with our owne reuenge, is a marke of Gods instrument, but the Diuels seruant. The apprehension of an apt opportunity, is of it selfe (I confesse) a matter indifferent, as well to good as wicked policie: Yet hasty and vnexpected actions commonly carry with them a greater suspicion of guilt, than discretion; as that which seekes to preuent a tryall, and feares discouery. Time, the father of truth, would (questionlesse) haue betrayed *Absolons* cause to common examination, and reduced the discontented *Commons* to their first temper. *David* might haue giuen satisfaction, & allegiance haue remained in his subjects hearts. Necessity, which perhaps begat the effects of ill government, might haue vrged the causes, and reason, which at the first seemed to fawne on their

their discontent, might afterwards be taught to correct her errors and suppress their insolence. All this *Achitophel* knew right well; and therefore chose rather to take advantage of the peoples sudden passion, than their maturer iudgements: as one who had good cause to shunne a legall Jury, where he could promise himselfe no other than losse in the fatall verdict. Hitherto (beloued) haue we traced the foote-steps of our grand traytour *Achitophel* through all his politicke counsailes, and vnnaturall rebellions. Your expectation I know (though almost tyred) hath long ere this runne to the place of execution, and proclaimed his comming: But your wronged patience and my want of time, hath enforced mee to reprine him till another Session.

Common censure hath stamp't it for a currant Prouerbe, *Part.*
That it is better for a man to bee fortunate than wise. For worldly wisdom, though she seeme alwaies to fawne on fortune, yet can neuer command, and seldome entreate her seruaice. It hath been thought the pride and priuiledge of that power which we call *Fortune*, to bestow her best fauours where she findes least worth; to crowne folly, and crosse wisdom; to make fooles happy, and the wise vnfortunate: As a Queen, she is supposed to shew her greatest Maiesty in Mans weaknesse; to pity sloath, and enuie industry; as most ieaious, lest mans wit or endeauours should challenge any part in her prerogative. But he that knowes wisely to arbitrate betwixt the clouds of Pagan ignorance, and the cleare Sun-shine of Christianite, betwixt *Poeticke* fancies, and *Propheticall* visions, shall finde vulgar opinion only mistaken in the name, ascribing that transcendent power of disposing worldly actions, to a *Deitie* which they called *Fortune*, which Christian knowledge might haue taught them more properly to haue termed *Providence*. And howsoever they haue bounded her large Empire beyond their owne reason; yet Christianity hath travelled much farther, and yet can prescribe no limits: as that which transcends into an infinite, and out-reacheth the eye of all discoverie. And though no place hath bene found so
base

base in the Theater of Nature or Ciuillactions, wherein *Providence* cannot shew the abundant Trophees of her magnificence: Yet there desires she to triumph most, where to men she seemes to haue least power. Her chiefest glory is to set vp her Ensignes on the gates of mans pride, and tread on the necke of worldly policy. No maruell then, that in the great politician *Achitophel*, in whom neither loyalty could command restraint, or perswade duety; whom neither vndoubted valour could checke, or danger terrifie: onely *Providence* could challenge a iurisdiction. His politicke obseruation of *Absolons* disposition and rare endowments, designing him out as a fit subiect for his treason, seconded by his craftie and irreligious counsell of abusing *Dauids* Concubines, (through which in my former Sermon in this place, I vthered forth your attention) had hitherto passed currant, and found in euent as much as it promised in expectation. *Absolon* had hitherto expressed himselfe no worse a learner than he a teacher; that the world might well doubt, whether the one were more happy to proiect, or the other to put in practice. Nothing now seemes remaining behinde, but to strike the last stroke, and giue the fatall on-set. *Dauids* ouerthrowe, and *Absolons* aduancement together appeare in sight; and his long and tedious ambition, as it were within a league, arriued at the port of victory. Let not *Absolon* play the truant in his last lesson, and within a few houres the voice of *Israel* shall salute him King. But the change of a good Master, oftentimes makes a *new* proficient Scholler: *Achitophels* precepts must be corrected by *Chusay*, his second Tutor. Two eyes are presumed to discerne more than one; and the rugged and vneuen knots in our first inuention, ought to be filed by the second. Though *Achitophel* in counsell be a Politician, yet *Absolon* in ambition is a King: and therefore ought to arrogate to himselfe as well the honour of the Conquest, as of the Scepters. Too much it might seeme for *Achitophel* to haue both; too little for *Absolon* to haue no hand at all in this Kingly proiect. If *Absolon* dare not trust his owne aduice, yet let him shew his liberty of consent. Wisdome consists as much in choice, as in inuention;

neither

neither seemes it the least of *Absolons* prerogative, amid di-
ners counsellors to declare himsef a King. : *Achitophel* shall
be suffered to speak his minde as an assistant, not to determine
causes as a Iudge ; and therefore must pardon *Absolon*, if ap-
proving him in all the rest, he in this one dissent. But often-
times he that can best act, can worst pen his owne part. And
therefore no maruell, if *Absolon*, vsurping the office of *Achi-
tophel*, beganne to faile in his last act. But to leaue *Absolon* to
his head-strong will, wee must here search more neerely into
the neglect of *Achitophels* counsell : which being the second
part in the former subdiuision of my Text, offers it selfe as a
subiect for this dayes exercise. *And when Achitophel saw that
his counsell was not followed, &c.*

2 *Achitophels* counsell thus defeated (as you haue heard)
offers it selfe to our enquiry vnder the obseruation of the
causes, and their concomitant circumstances. The causes pre-
ceding the fact, we may obserue to bee twofold : either *Pri-
marie*, or *Secondary*. The primary we finde to be no other than
Almighty God, from whom all other inferiour agents deriue
their strength and action. Where Nature begins and Reason
ends, there must we place that omnipotent and eternal power,
as the centre from which all operations first spring, and the
boundlesse circumference into which all discourses runne.
Betwixt this *Eternall* and *Inferiour* Agents, as the distance
knowes no proportion, so Reason could neuer finde resistance
or opposition : and easie was it for that omnipotent proni-
dence, to whom *Achitophels* counsels were from all eternitie
discouered, to decree as well the means, as the end of his de-
feate. For as in the vast frame of nature, bodies compared one
with the other seeme *Heterogeneall*, consisting of diuers and
opposite operations : yet as so many wheeles in an artificall
engine, are by the same hand directed to the same common
vse ; so the actions and counsels of men, howsoeuer casually
they seeme to meete, and iustle one the other, are notwith-
standing preordained by the same *Infinite* counsell, to co-
operate to the same vniuersall end. Whence will naturally
arise this obseruation, *That howsoeuer men may propose to them-
selves,*

selfes, it is onely in the power of Almighty God to dispose. A proposition better knowne as a Prouerbe among men, than acknowledged in their practice. Had yet the great Politicians of this world as much *Logicke* to iudge, as cunning to contriue their owne plots, they would questionlesse out of the combination of second causes, without respect vnto the first, rather suspect a fallacie, than promise a demonstration. Had they as much acquaintance with Gods Word, as their owne wicked and prophane *Axiomes*; they would haue heard the Lord often threatening in holy Scriptures to stagger the counsell of the wicked, and turne the wisdome of the wisest into folly. Had they rather desired to be instructed, than flattered by experience, they would haue found of their profession, instead of a few crowned happy by euent, tennethousand miscarry in the meanes. A good successe, like a flye Parasite, rather soothes than commends our actions, and like a coy Mistressse, prostitutes her selfe to mens neglect, but frownes on their ambition. But these are popular arguments, subiect almost to common sense; wherein euery common obseruation may claime a share. Should wee search with more subtiltie, either as sound *Diuines*, or deep *Philosophers*, into the mysterious manner of Gods working; wee shall finde no small argument to bee drawne from the disparitie betwixt *Diuine providence* and *Worldly policie*. The plots and counterplots of men are vsually grounded, either vpon open *Resistance*, or flye *Disersion*. The one is taught vs in the Booke of Nature; wherein wee may reade the interchangeable conquest of the elements in their mutuall conflicts and operations: the other is grounded on *Ciuill* obseruation as well as nature, which in the shortest and easiest way commonly findes the safest victorie. But Gods Almighty hand, which neuer knew *Resistance*, or needes *Disersion*, easily knows how to worke his own ends by his supernaturall concurrence with worldly agents, in their most affected proiects. The same meanes which wicked men propose to themselves, as the safest agents for their desired ends, hee makes the instruments of their owne ruine; that the most exactest plot, wherein policie could euer hug
her

her own inuention, may seeme the most exquisite example of her owne shame. Easie was it for that great King of Heauen and Earth, with thunder and lightning from heauen, to haue pashed *Absolon* in pieces, and scorched vp his seditious army; more easie could he haue broken the subtile nets of *Achitaphels* politicke inuention, than *Sampson* the *Philistines* bands, or an *Elephant* a *Spiders* webbe: But intending rather to make them their owne executioners, hee suffers them to runne in their owne Labyrinth, till they meet their owne ruine. What way in Nature could *Pharaoh* deuise more exquisite to increase the strength of *Israel*, and make them populous, than to tye them to their daily burthens? Whence could *Moses* haue better deriued his greatnesse in *Pharaoh's* Court, than from the bulrush cradle floating on the teares of the weeping riuer? How could *Pharaoh* haue feared or expected, enen in his own tyrannous decree, projected for his owne safeguard, and *Israel's* extirpation, to haue found *Israel* ransomed, and himselfe ruined? that his owne daughter should preserue that as a Cabinet of pleasure, which *Moses* mother bellowed on him as a mournefull Coffin? Little thought *Iosephs* brethren in selling him to the *Egyptians*, to haue purchased their own shame, and his future greatnesse. Little thought those *Romane* Emperours, in their raging persecutions to haue sowne the seede of the Church in the blood of the Martyrs, and haue seene Christianitie most triumphant in her greatest wounds. Little thought Pope *Leo the tenth*, in sending his *Indulgences* into *Germany*, to haue met with such an opportunitie as the peoples discontent, and the *Heremite Fryars* defeat, to haue stirred vp the hot spirit of *Luther*, to haue giuen such a fatall blow to his owne greatnesse, and see his tyrannous Hierarchie in such a terrible combustion. Such is the infinite wisdom of that *Providence*, to ordaine worldly policie to afford not onely the aptest instruments, but the exactest opportunities to destroy it selfe; and there to declare our greatest weaknesse, where we repose our greatest strength. Whence by way of application wee may draw two other consecratories, expressing no lesse apparant footsteps of Gods Almighty providence in disposing the

the affaires of men. First, *that in prevention of worldly plots & stratagems he commonly shewes not himselfe but at the last push, and seldome discovers our danger till wee suppose our selves most secure.* Had Gods wisdom ranne the course of humane policie, he might haue prevented, as well as defeated *Achitophels* designe; he might haue stirred vp *Dauids* ieaousie, betime to haue shut vp *Absolon* in prison; or according to the preposterous rules of the *Ottoman Justice*, haue rewarded his future treason with a present execution. *Absolon* might haue failed as well in the first as last precept; or at least *Achitophel* might haue read in *Absolons* disposition, his wilfull weakenesse or inconstancie. But God pursues not ours, but his owne glory, as one who is then most willing to shew his power, when our hopes or abilities can challenge least.

8 Our second Confectary drawne from Gods omnipotent prouidence, is, *That God sits not as an idle spectator, but interposeth himselfe as a chiefe actor on the Theatre of worldly actions.* It was not only an idle, but a wicked dreame of *Epicurus* and his followers, that God, busied in the contemplation of heauenly matters, gaue ouer the gouernment of the World to *Chance*, or *Nature*: as if he supposed it a *Mill* or *Water-works*, which once framed by an Artificer, and animated by an active power, should worke of its owne accord, and preserve in it the principles both of motion and continuance. Which opinion (for ought that I know) might bee fastned on our Master *Aristotle*, who not only in his *Phylickes* seemes to deny a Prouidence; but in the whole course of his *Philosophy* seemes to preferre Nature as a Deitie, whom God should rather serue than command: yet here, should I freely discover mine opinion, I should thinke our *Philosopher* mistaken, in diuiding one and the selfe something into diuers names. To separate God from Nature is to diuorce Nature from her selfe: which seemes of it selfe absurd; but to ascribe act and motion vnto the latter, and appoint the former to sit idle as a spectator, or at least as a necessary agent to serue Nature, is more absurd to thinke a finite more excellent than an infinite; which is strange how so great a wit should once imagine. But we out of the principles

ciples of Christian Philosophy, may easily be taught a double concurrence of the Creator with the creature: the one Generall, which I hold to bee no other than that wee vsually call Nature: the other Speciall, which humane Ignorance or Admiration hath tearmed Miracle. Neither can reason imagine the naturall generation of things to be any other than a continue Creation, wherein Almighty God, according to the Aptnesse and Preparation of the subiect, daily ministers new formes, or conserues the same: which the *Diuities* tearme *Preseruation*. For to giue a Creature, without Gods immediate concurrence, an abilitie of producing the like or equall substance to it selfe, or by his owne power to deriue out of that first *Chaos* a new forme or nature, seemes to me to trench too farre on Gods *Prerogative*; I had almost said, to emulate God in the second part of his Creation. But to leaue this Common-wealth of Nature to its first institution, and enter into the view of mens actions, we shall finde a more speciall concurrence of Diuine providence, than in the former. To what other cause else should wee owe that miraculous preservation of Gods *Church*, which through the violence of so many ages hath saued it selfe entire, with so small a number, and great an opposition. Time, which hath seene the *Rise* and *Fall* of so many famous Kingdomes; the inuention and decay of so many learned labours; the erection and defacing of so many stately Trophees; Time, which in her vast gulfe hath not onely swallowed vp *antiquities*, but for the greatest part enuied her historie; hath yet cherished in her bosome this one darling, and kept a sure register of all her actions. Should I descend to particular examples of Gods concurrence in mans actions, I should sooner lose my selfe, than finde an end. The most irreligious Heathen, through the thicke clouds of ignorance, haue often espied the glimpse of Gods dreadfull lightning, and often quaked at his thunder: They haue felt his finger in their wounds, and acknowledged his strength in their weaknesse: Yea, such hath beene the power of Almighty God, to expose their owne wicked actions as a table of their confession, and extort an acknowledgement of his victorie out of

their blasphemy. *Julian*, that wicked *Apostate*, though as politique to obscure, as malicious to oppose the truth of *Christ Iesus*; was yet in the end constrained to shut vp his tyrannie with a *Verdict* *Galilee*. In like sort, we reade of *Mahomet* the second, the first Emperor of the *Turkes*, that at the siege of *Scoora* against the *Christians*, in the defence of so small a Citie against his mighty Army, finding God his enemy, he blasphemously asked by way of exprobatation, whether God had not enough to doe in Heauen, that he should interpose himselfe in his affaires on earth. He that will not deny a God, must of necessity grant a providence, and who knowes himselfe, and fits into his owne will and actions, must needs acknowledge a supernall power, which determines them to good or euill. Here, stood it with my time or your patience, could I proceed to taxe *Pelagius*, and his latter spawn the *Iesuites* and *Arminians*: who imagining our will to be her owne mistresse, haue admitted God no otherwise than as a seruant or assistant; as though that Almighty power were not authorized to preordaine, but onely bound to second our conuersion. Their salvation they would rather owe vnto themselves than grace; as though they sought the first cause in their own inclination, and expected nothing of God but a *Morall* and strong perswasion. But although in deede they will deny a certaine and speciall *Predestination*, yet in words they will grant a *Prescience*. Here would I willingly aske a question out of my Text: Whether God absolutely foresaw *Absolons* inclination of rejecting *Achitophels* counsell, or not? If they grant the *Negative*, they deny a *Prescience*: If the *Affirmative*, I demand againe, whether this fore-sight could imply a necessity of euent, or leaue *Absolon* to his owne free choice? If the former, they must deny him a *Free-will* of declining to the other side, which they labour by all meanes to establish: If the latter, they must eyther acknowledge Gods prescience to bee vncertaine, against the ground they haue already granted; or at least affirme, that a certaine knowledge may be of such things as shall neuer come to passe. Here the *Iesuites* are better provided to chuse than answer; like the subtile *Sepas*, to make

make an escape by troubling the water: and rather than they would be thought to know nothing, they will say any thing. Where the *Scripture* shewes no faire countenance, and *Reason* faints, their recourse to Schoole-subtilties must be their only refuge. But were there no Smith in *Israel*, yet might these *Philistines* be entreated to sharpen our sword for our defence against their battery. God (say they) from all eternity foresaw the inclination of mans *Free-will*, vpon which he grounded his decree of withholding or conterrering farther grace. Here I must aske againe, Whether God foresaw it in his own decree, or the disposition of the second causes? If they assent vnto the former, then must this foresight in the order of our vnderstanding, not preuent, but rather second the decree; which they deny. If they sticke to the latter (as indeede they doe) I demand how second causes may be supposed to work, except they were predetermined and actuated by the first? That second causes worke not in their owne, but their owners strength, is their owne principle; and to grant them an operation, not depending on the first Agent, were to set an instrument to worke without a hand. I would aske moreouer, Whether God foreseeing *Achimophels* counsell and *Absalons* inclination, had the power to hinder it or not. If so, then was it in his power to foresee what himselfe could hinder; which checkes the certainty of Gods knowledge, and inuolues an apparant *Contradiction*. If not, how can we imagine him *Omnipotent*, which cannot challenge so much power ouer second causes, as to turne and diuert them to his owne vses? This argument *Vorstius* and *Episcopius* found so strong against them, that to backe their absurdity, they must adde apparant blasphemy; allowing God eyther no *Prescience* at all, or such as is onely *uncertaine* and *coniectural*; which impious and grosse opinion I hold sufficiently confuted in the mention. But I haue staid here too long, and haue farre to goe: wherefore hauing taken a generall suruey of the primary, or chiefe cause of *Achimophels* defeat, let vs descend to the second causes, which in the next place offer themselves to obseruation.

4. Gods power hath exprested it selfe legible as well in the

Book

Book of *Nature* as of *Grace*: and naturall Agents (as you haue heard) as they deriue their operations from his strength, so they are determined by his will, and directed to his glory. Here we finde *Nature* in second Agents not set against her selfe, though raised a pitch beyond her priuate inclination; and the first cause without eyther neede or violence, to entertaine the seruice of the second. Whence, ere we descend to each particular inferiour agent, will arise one generall obseruation: *That Almighty God bringing to passe miraculous and great euents, commonly admits the cooperation of second causes.* As easie was it questionlesse for that great Architect of nature, who out of waste and emptinesse begat a world, to create, as to command, to cause, as to entertaine the operation of inferior Agents. Here might *History* shew her selfe prodigall of examples, but neuer bank-rupt: euey moment, in the ordinary course of humane actions, begets some instance or other to demonstrate Gods gracious loue and fauour to the world; who, able to dash both Policy and Nature out of countenance, is notwithstanding pleased to admit them as his obedient hand-maides. But to expresse the secret cooperation of God, working by second causes, is a matter which hath heretofore staggered *Philosophy*, and puzzled the apprehension of the sharpest and acutest *Diuines*. Neuerthelesse, so farre forth as the infinite power of God may dispense with mans enquiry, we may reduce the manner of his working to certaine heads; to decline as much as we can the two enemies of vnderstanding, Obscurity and Confusion. The action then of Gods concurring with second causes, concernes either the *beginning*, *progress*, or *end* of the same act. In the beginning we may call it either *Positive* or *Negative*. The Positive consists either in the furtherance or hinderance of humane actions; both which may be either *internall* or *externall*. The internall promotion or hinderance is againe diuided into two acts: for eyther it concernes the *supportance* of the creature, which in the first moment is termed *Creation*; in continuance, *Preseruation*; or the preordination of the Agent, which with our *Diuines*, against the Tenent of *Arminius*, I dare to call *Predetermination*.

The

The *externall*, is the presentment of some *externall* and present *object* to the apprehension of the *sense*, *will*, or *understanding*; which latter acts, concur as well in Gods *hinderance* of humane actions: For the same Almighty power, can at once both promote his owne, and hinder mens counsels. This *Hinderance* is many waies brought to passe; for either the impediment is cast on our *authority*, *power*, *will*, or *state*. Our authority of free-working is curbed and restrained by the *Law*, whereof the breach is a *sinne*: as that of *Adam* in *Paradise*, whose liberty could not dispense with the tasting of the forbidden tree. Our *Naturall power* is checkt by many interuenient causes: first by cutting off the agent from life and being, as that of the siege of *Ierusalem* by *Sennacherib*, by smiting in one night an hundred fourescore and five thousand; or the bringing of *Elias* the Prophet to *Abazia*, by the consumption of *fiftie men* by fire from heauen. Secondly, by detraction or diminution of the power; as *Ieroboam* was restrained from apprehending the *Prophet*, by the drying vp of his hand. Thirdly, by opposition of equall or greater strength; as *Vzziah* was hindered by *Azaria* and his fourescore Priests from offering in the Temple. Fourthly, by removing or subtraction of the *object*, as our Saviour saued himselfe from the violence of the *Iewes*, and the *Tribune Paul* from the conspiracie. An impediment may be cast on our will, either by Gods *Predetermining power*, which against *Arminius* we haue formerly maintained, or by some outward *perswasive argument*. The arguments, wherewith he vsually dis-swades our will from commencing any action, are commonly drawne either from the *Topickes* of seeming *impossibilitie*, and apparant *difficultie*; or *unpleasantnesse*, *losse*, and *dishonour*. By the first, for a while the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* were restrained from offering violence vnto our Saviour, because they knew him of the people to be esteemed as a *Prophet*. In like sort, God heretofore set a barre betwixt his owne people and the Idolatrous *Israelites*, lest they should trafficke as well sinnes as familiarity. By the second, *Iosephs* brethren were diuerted from the murder of their Brother, because a milder course seemed to serue their purpose. By

F

the

the third and last, *Ioseph* was dissuaded from adultery with *Potipbars wife*, and *David* from touching the *Lords anointed*. An obstacle may be cast on the act it self two manner of waies; eyther by taking away the *object*, which with some we haue reduced to the impediment of the *power*, or by disabling the *influx* and *power* of the *agent*, in regard of the *patient*: whereof we haue an example in the *three Children*, vnconsumed in the fiery *furnace*. The *Negative* act of Gods concurring, is *permission*, & is cleane opposite to the other; and therefore ought to be squared by the same distinction: for as *Logicians* haue taught vs, *Opposites* ought to suffer the same diuision. Onely from hence we must except the *impediment* cast on our actions by the *law* or *authoritie*; for otherwise would there follow an apparant contradiction, that the same act should be a sinne, and yet no sinne: a sinne as it is by the *Law* forbidden, and yet no sinne, as it is by the same power permitted. These acts forespoken of Gods concurrence, seeme to preuent and precede the action of an inferiour agent. In the action it selfe, we finde two speciall acts; the one, an *actuell determination* of the *agent* to the *object*, the other, a *direction* to the *end*. An instance of the former wee haue in *Herods* cruelty vpon the children, which was diuered by our *Sauour*, by the substitution of another *object*. Of this latter, in King *Abasueros*, who amidst the spoyle of so many virgin concubines, lighted on *Hester*, whom Prouidence had marked out to be the preseruer of the *Iewish* nation. The concourse of God, after, and in the end of humane actions, is no other than the *direction* of the event to a further purpose: which we obserue in the *Iewes* crueltie in crucifying our *Sauour*; the execution of whose malice, was found to be the most exquisite meanes of our salvation. But I haue almost lost my selfe in this Labyrinth, whereinto, though *Philosophy* seemes to haue taught an entrance in, yet *Diuinitie* neuer discovered a passage out; as that which begins with mans smallest knowledge, and in his greatest ignorance. Hence are we taught, not so farre to trust to Gods prouidence, as to neglect the ordinary meanes which God offers to our industry or obseruation, *Hosckiah*, though he

he had already receiued vnder Gods owne hand and seale, a lease of fifteene yeares to the date of life almost expired, neglected neither the Prophets counsell, nor the helpe of his Physitians: and *David* in this place, a man after Gods own heart, and confident enough of his protection, hath notwithstanding his present recourse to second causes, as preordained of God for *Achitophels* defeate, and his deliuey. Which second causes comming next in order particularly to be traced out, your fauourable attention will (I hope) a while longer hold the candle while I briefly reade them.

5 The *inferiour agents* concurring to the neglect of *Achitophels* counsell, are reduced vnto two heads: The impulsue, and instrumentall. The impulsue cause which moued God to defeate *Achitophels* counsell (so farre as according to the language of men wee may speake of God) was *Dauids* prayer, whereby he besought him to confound the counsell of *Achitophel* his profest enemy. The good vse of prayer amongst deuout and religious men, hath alwayes beene esteemed both the first and last remedie in our greatest dangers, as the surest key which opens and shuts the doore of Gods secret closet. When our friends shrinke from vs, and all worldly stratagems are out of sight; when dangers present their *Gorgon* faces as hideous as our feares, and death stands at our elbowes to summon our appearance to the last arraignment; only prayer is left to intercede as a gracious Orator, and effectiue aduocate. Though *Achitophel* in wit and industry would shew himselfe a politician, yet *David* in sanctitie must expresse himselfe a Prophet: and though *Absolons* hopes are grounded on his worldly strength, yet *Dauids* strength is erected on Gods protection. Neither in his sacred eiaculation, wherein he addressed himselfe to Gods will and mercie, was his desire vntutured, or his deuotion ignorant. Hee knew to whom he spake, and obserued a distance: as fearing lest his religious zeale might seeme vnmanly if vnseasonable. The greatest offices are commonly subiect to the greatest solacismes, and Prayer, deuotions must trusty messenger, if not well directed or acquainted with her Embassage, may soone degenerate into superstition.

perstition. But so well instructed was *David* in this religious courtship, as if the end of his suite had been others institution, and his example our rule. Whether we respect the *Author, End, Object, Time, or Forme* of his earnest petition, wee shall obserue him as discrete as religious, as one which owed his oraizons as much to knowledge as deuotion. First we find his prayer neyther to be ignorant, nor hypocriticall; but as proceeding from a generous and vncorrupted heart, vshered in by sinceritie, and accompanied with contrition. He measured his meditations rather by weight than number. Hee was not taught, as a *Popish penitentiary*, to count his beads in stead of his prayers, and make his fingers the intelligencers to his faith. Hee knew not so much complement as the Diuels formall Courtiers, who desire as little to bee beleeued of God, as vnderstood of men; and esteeme praier rather as a decent formalitie, than a religious exercise. Secondly, the end of his Prayer, was, no other than the preservation of his people, and his owne defence: neither in his own defence sought he reuenge but iustice; his prayer was not directed against the person, but the sinne; neither his desire (for ought I see) so much in the ruine of *Achitophel*, as the diuersion of his policie. *Turne* (saith hee) *the wisdom of Achitophel into folly.* We finde not in this forme the affected curses of the Romish Synagogue, which raving *Shimes* at the time dogging him in his way, might as easily haue taught as *David* suffered. But the *Pope* perhaps may command what *David* neuer durst to entreat of God: And what is a *King* and *Prophet* to Christs vniuersall *Vicar*? or *Dauids* prerogative to his *Supremacie*? Too much might it be thought for *David* to banne or excommunicate a gracelesse Sonne, or a rebellious Subiect: yet may it perhaps seeme too little for *Peters* successor, in whose hands are the keyes of heauen, hell, and purgatory, to shut and open at his pleasure. Loath I am (beloued) to ieast in earnest, or turne a serious blasphemy into a pleasant *Irony*. But nothing workes vs more, than our shamefull actions: and the same power which turnes humane wisdom into folly, makes it vnto men ridiculous. To bewaile folly with *Heraclitus*, argues charitie;

charitie ; and yet to laugh at it with *Democritus*, can be interpreted no sinne but iustice. Thirdly, the object to which *Dauids* prayer was directed, was no other than God himselfe, as one best acquainted with his necessitie, and most able to relieue him. Had hee been taught the complement of our Roman Courtiers, or the religious mysteries of Popery, hee might haue prepared Gods eares before, by the meditation of some *Saint*, or at least haue made prouision of some enchanted *Relick*, to priue him safe from danger. The holy *Legend* (had he liued in these riper times) might questionlesse haue instructed him in the particular offices of each *Saint*, as well as the ancient Roman records in the prerogative of each inferiour *Deitie*. A thousand to one but some humble *S. Francis* would haue been singled out to deliuer his petition ; or some charitable *S. Thomas Becket*, who could not deny a Parrat his assistance, would haue beene moued with the petition of a King. But *David* (it seemeth) better knew the King himselfe, than these his Courtiers, and neglecting these inferiour officers, presents his suite to noother than God himselfe, whom neuertheless hee found (if wee beleue Scriptures) facile enough both to heare his prayer, and grant his request. Fourthly, the time and opportunitie of his prayer cannot but minister somewhat to obseruation. Hee deferred not his petition, like a malefactor on the gibbet, or a prophane Sea-man in perplexitie, to the last extremitie : but he begins where desperate and carelesse sinners would (at least) desire to end. No sooner had Fame, as a swift Pursuant, euertaken *Achitophel* in his revolt, but he makes his recourse to Almighty God, as one who knew well that it was his office rather to gouerne than obey *Destinie*. The same hand of vengeance which by *Moses* entreatie was restrained from the ouerthrow of the idolatrous Israelites, and by a generall prayer and repentance from the desolation of *Ninueh*, hee could not imagine either slacke or impotent in defeate of his enemies, or defence of his faithfull seruant. Fifthly, wee obserue his prayer to bee short and pithy, not tedious and impertinent; as thinking it meeter that his heart should dictate to his tongue, than his tongue inter-

prete to his heart. His prayer was not crude and vnconcocted, abounding with as many *Tautologies* as words, but seasonable and *Pathetick*, expressing no lesse than his earnest desire, and directed no further than the present purpose. Here, as our Saviour in the Gospell heretofore taxed the Pharisees of long and tedious babling, might I proceede to reprehend some Pharisees of our time, were I sure to bee mine owne interpreter. But I am much affraid, lest, through the sides of a few factious and fantasticke spirits, I should be suspected to wound Religion. The sixt and last circumstance in *Dauids* prayer, was, that it proceeded from him *extemporary*, as best futing with an extemporary and sudden accident. Hence our moderne *Masse-priests* might haue beene taught a more profitable Art of Prayer, than the sale of set *Liturgies* for all occasions. No inuention of man could euer proue so infinite as to sift the precise corners of euery mans conscience: neither is it in the wit of man, but God, to dictate a present forme for all future accidents, and prescribe a speciall Antidote against all temptations. Herein commonly the Physitian shewes himself no sooner than the disease, as one who would haue vs depend rather on his present fauour, than our premeditated counsell. And in such cases I take that of our Saviour, [*Dabitur in illâ hora*] to be vnderstood. Neuerthelesse from this, or other the like *ejaculatory prayers*, warranted by Scripture, and practised by holy men, little ground of argument can the *Brownists* take for their opinion; who admitting no distinction betwixt *publicke* and *private* prayer, would haue all to proceede from an *extemporary* and sudden meditation. As though God could not as well direct our studie, as strengthen our deliuerie; and there were not a place as well for attention to follow, as inuention to dictate in our Deuotion. For the confutation of which mens vnwarrantable industrie, we neede go no further than our Saviours own example, who prescribed vs a set form of Prayer; or *David* at least, of whom we now speake, who hath left behinde him so many sweet and diuine meditations, as a testimony of his sanctitie, and a patterne for our imitation. Hitherto (beloued) haue I discoursed of the *Impulsive* second

cond cause of *Achitophel's* defeate. The *instrumentall* causes, whereunto my method in the next place is engaged, concerne either the immediate *preuention* of *Achitophel's* designe, or *discovery* of it to *David* and his Army. The former consisting of *Chushai's* loyalty and *Absolons* weaknesse, discouers vnto vs as well the character of a trusty Subiect, preferring his Kings safety before his owne ambition, as of an vnexperienced young Prince, more willing to hearken to the voice of flattery, than wise direction. The latter, Gods power in the weak *simplicitie* of a silly *Maide*, the instrument of this discovery. In the brieft touching of which points, I hope to finde your patience a little more propitious than the time.

6 As much as the dignity of a King transcends the Subiect, is the obligation of the Subiect to his King: neyther is the duty lesse we owe to the safety of our Soueraigne, than the safeguard wee challenge in his protection; as the center, next vnder God, from which we deriue our honours, and to which we owe our seruices. Of this duty, *Chushai*, *Dauids* trusty seruant, was not ignorant, neyther was his knowledge better tutoured than his industry. The same hand of Kingly munificence which dispensed him his honours, pointed him out the lines of his obliged loyaltie; neither was hee more slacke to obey than *David* to command. *Returne into the Citie* (quoth *David* to *Chushai*) and say vnto *Absolon*, *I will bee thy seruant, O King, as I haue bene thy fathers seruant;* so shalt thou defeat the counsell of *Achitophel*. Almighty God, who formerly heard *Dauids* prayer, directed his aduice, and *Chushai's* industrious loyalty. In vndertaking of which designe, wee shall finde *David* blessed in so good a seruant, as *Chushai* worthy of so good a Master; whose carriage of so dangerous a businesse in so honest and discreet a fashion, seemes to copy out vnto vs all the offices of an *honest politician*. In the first place, we finde his obedience and resolution, neither shrinking from the awfull lookes of danger, or forfeiting his Masters trust. The apprehension of an vnexpected friend, or reconciled enemy, might haue betrayed his errand to watchfull ielousie; suspicion might haue called his very lookes, to examination,

tion, and guilty feare, the childe of treason, might haue deli-
 uered him ouer as a spie to present execution. *Achitophel's*
 deep in-sight in *State affaires*, and *Absolons* confidence in his
 oraculous aduice, might haue eyther founded his disposition,
 or dasht his counsell out of countenance; and then should he
 find his best seruice rewarded with death or torture: at least,
 had his message met the best successe, and ransomed his Ma-
 ster *David* from so imminent a conspiracie, yet, according to
 the rules of worldly policy, he could not yet suppose *Absolons*
 iealousie more dangerous than *Dauids* obligation. Princes,
 vnwillingly owe courtesies greater than themselues, and com-
 monly preferre a bank-rupt debtor, before an over-deseruing
 creditor: as if the very sight or remembrance of a beneficiall
 friend, should seeme a perpetuall exprobaton of ingratitude.
 A smaller disparagement it seems among worldly Tyrants to
 want Iustice, than Power; rather to bee thought willing to
 offend, than not to be thought able to requite. These obiecti-
 ons vrged to *Chushai's* likely coniecture and politicke obser-
 uation, might easily haue checkt his forwardnesse in *Dauids*
 seruice, and strangled his resolution in the very birth. But he
 out of a cleare and couragious spirit, neither feares an enemy,
 nor suspects a friend, nor seekes his dutie abroad in other
 mens forecasts, which he might finde at home in his owne
 bosome. In the second place, we may obserue his trusty loue
 to his Master *David*: occasion might here seeme to smile on
 his aduancement, and *Absolons* growing fortunes, as the ri-
 sing Sunne, might haue tempted his ambition: *David* seemes
 ready to depart, and *Absolon* to enter the Scene of life and so-
 ueraignty: and who, in policie, would not rather chuse to
 haue his fortunes to liue in *Absolon*, than dye in *David*? To
 haue betrayed the fathers trust, might haue ingaged the sons
 affection; and to raise himsele a fortune out of his Masters
 ruine, though the greatest breach in the lawes of loyalty, had
 seemed one of the chiefest Maximes in the art of *Policie*. But
 hee, as a faithfull subiect, respects not what he might, but
 what he ought; not so much what occasion might seeme to
 offer, as what religion might be knowne to iustifie: as one
 who

who would rather owe his misfortunes to his trusty service, than his preferment to dishonest treachery. Thirdly, we may note his *secrecie* and *discretion* in managing so dangerous and great a proiect. He invaded not the young Princes cares with a sudden and v unexpected on-set, or like an intruding *Polipragmon*, shewed himselfe more officious than wise, to out-runne the goale, and let slip before occasion. He expected, not prevented his opportunity; and suffered *Absolon* to aske, before hee thought it conuenient to giue his counsell: that *Absolon* might seeme more indebted to *Chusbai's* wisdom, than *Chusbai* to *Absolons* approbation. Neither in his aduice did *Chusbai* shew himselfe factious or vnmanly; hee seemed onely to dislike *Ahitophels* direction in this one designe, not without a silent acknowledgement of his former wisdom. The counsell (saith he) which *Ahitophel* hath giuen at this time is not good. The aduantage of *Ahitophels* reputation amongst those that had tryed his policy, & of the peoples preiudice of such as should contradict, taught *Chusbai's* discretion to disapprove rather the counsell, than the counsellor, and mitigate his dissent with some colour of former approbation. This designe, inspired by God himselfe, directed by *Dauid*, and practised by *Chusbai*, seemes to giue warrant to this obseruation, That there is as well a good as an euill policie; as well an honest and discreet conueyance of our actions, grounded on religion, as an indirect proceeding ingaged to vnwarranted and vnlawfull actions. Hee that would haue vs to be innocent as *Doves*, hath taught vs also to be wise as *Serpents*; and he that dispenseth vs the means to atchieue our ends, permits vs also the proper and best direction. But how precisely to diuide betwixt an honest *providence*, and vnlawfull *policie*, neither on the one side to violate Gods precepts, nor on the other to neglect our own right, seems a matter as curious to determine, as necessary to vnderstand. To be Gods seruant and the Times, at once, seemes incomparable; especially, in such a disorderly mixture of humane actions: in which (as *Bodin* would counsell vs) it behooues a wise man to shew himselfe as various as the season. We cannot command, but obey occasion. The

meanes and opportunities whereof *Statesmen* take advantage in defeating of their opposites, are rather found than chosen; and the manner and direction of our projects rather prescribed vs by chance than skill, as such whose causality depends not on our will, but obseruation. Neuerthelesse between the iniquitie of our times, and the strictnesse of a good conscience, a space is left wide enough to giue a passage for a religious & wise discretion: and by how much the plots of men, and changes of State seeme more dangerous to Gods children, by so much is their care and prouidence, in declining the snares of the wicked, the better warranted. For God condemnes in vs as well the neglect of our care, as his prouidence; as one whose wisdomes workes seldome without, but with and in our industrie.

7 The second instrumentall cause which shewes it selfe in the priuation of *Achitophels* counsell, was found in *Absolons* inclination. *Achitophels* projects hauing long since past the first conception, are now come vnto the very birth: but *Absolons* vnexperienced youth, as an vnskilfull midwife, made it abortiue in the deliuey. The ground of his error I can interpret to be no other, than the vsuall disease of Princes, who had rather bee soothed than aduised, and haue eares more facile to the tongue of flatterie, than the heart of loyaltie. Flattery by *Tacitus*, was well termed the old sicknesse of the Romanes Common-wealth, as the loue of flatterie, the staine and blemish of the wisest Emperours. Those whom neither the sword could conquer, nor treason vndermine; whom neither pleasure could allure, nor riches perswade, nor greatnesse tempt to the least dishonour, onely flatterie could bring into subiection. For as the object of flatterie, *selfe-loue*, is most vnuerfall, and no where excluded humane nature; so adulation in it selfe, euery where, findes occasion to enter without resistance or impeachment. And whereas all other vices are countermanded and checked by their contrary vertues, this one seemes to challenge a prerogative aboue vertue her selfe, in that she findes acceptance among her enemies, and growes stronger by opposition. No maruell then, if *Absolons* youthful

weak.

weakenesse, vnable to endure the siege of so puissant a belea-
guer, revolted from *Achitophels* (as I may say) *irreligious loyal-
ty*, and yeilded to *Chushai's* pious flatterie. *Chushai's* adulatory
counsell wee may obserue to consist in three especiall circum-
stances. First, that he perswaded him to enter the field in his
owne person, and make himselfe the owner as well of the vi-
ctory as the Soueraigntie ; as though it had seemed a matter
not becomming the greatnesse of a King, to owe the honour of
his Scepters to the valour of a seruant. Secondly, in that in
his aduice hee seemed more firmly opinionated of the peo-
ples loue, and *Absolons* popular estimation. What wee desire,
that wee easily belecue : neither prize wee our perfections
dearer in themselves, than in other mens admiration. Our
vertues neuer please vs better, than when, by reflection, they
seeme augmented in the false glasse of popular opinion. Nei-
ther shall *Sophocles* the Tragedian, bee so well accepted in de-
scribing mens manners as they were, as *Enripides*, who pre-
sented them as they should be. More honour found *Homer* in
expressing mens manners to the best, than *Hegemon* to the
worst. And howsoeuer the two famous Painters, *Pauson* in
limning out the most deformed, and *Cleophon* the most sem-
blable and likely Pictures, expressed in their worke as much
art as industrie : yet who with *Polignotus*, so cunningly can
handle his penfill, as to paint out mens best parts beyond truth
or existence, shall easily purchase the reputation of the rarest
workmanship. Thirdly, *Chushai's* counsell seemed more to
ayme at *Absolons* honour and magnificence, in that he perswaded
him to oppose his Father *David*, rather by open strength than
vndermining policie. For *Absolon* to haue entrapped his Fa-
ther *David* by a secret ambush, had beene termed rather a
treason than a victory : and by how much the field is more
ample than the closet, seemes a clancular conspiracie, inferi-
our to an open hostile opposition. To scrue himselfe into his
Fathers kingdome by cunning engines, might derogate from
his valour, and obscure the glory of the conquest. A pitched
field would be thought the best scene, whereon honour ought
to display her Ensignes, and the sword the most graceful actors.

These adulatory suggestions of *Chushai*, howsoever preiudicial to *Absolons* designe, had neuertheless the aduantage of *Achitophels* well wayed policy. For as sicke and queasie stomackes had rather appetite should vmpire their desires, than iudgement; affecting for the time, rather to be pleased than profited: so *Chushai's* aduice tempered and seasoned, (as it seemes) to *Absolons* vain-glorious and ambitious humour, was as soone swallowed as suggested. From which example, practised by *Chushai*, and paralleld by the like instances in all times and histories, will arise this obseruation: That *flatterie* is the most exquisite and dangerous policie. A proposition requiring no other confirmation, than common practice; wherein we esteeme those axiomes established as the most vndoubted truth, which by ordinary experience are found most successful. A happy successe is that which crownes our actions; neither is our naturall knowledge more indebted to sensible experiment, than our *politicke* to ciuill obseruation. Hence an ordinary path, by policy, seemes to be troden out to all preferments, through the back-doore of *adulation*, through which, euery base and vnderferuing *Parasite* shall finde an easie entrance, while *desert*, waiting for a turne at the fore-gate, shall freeze ere it obtaine admission, and pine away in fruitlesse expectation. No maruaile then, if *flatterie*, which some haue tearmed the *eight liberall Science*, haue gotten the start of the other *seuen*, hauing beene tried to be most compendious and readie way to all aduancement; at least one, to whom all other professions owe their grace, and direct their seruice. The curious workmanship of *artificers*, the subtile nets, and pleasant dreames of *Philosophers*, the hyred voyces of *Lawyers*, the sugred pills of *Physicians*, the sett and formall grauitie of *Diuities*, the oylie tongues of *Courtiers*, the scraping legges of *Peasants*, seeme all corriuals in courting this proud Mistresse, and prostituting their seruice to adulation. Here (Reuerend and Beloued) might I in modesty aske of you, as sometime the King of *Israel* of *Elisha* the Prophet, *Father, shall I strike? But your gravity checks my swelling passion, and seemes to answer me with the same Prophet, Thou shalt not strike. What wouldst*

wouldst thou smite them whom the Lord hath made already captives? I am no shamelesse *Cham*, to discover a fathers nakednesse, no remorselesse *Nero*, to open and expose the entrailes of my mother. The vaile of Charity is in my hand, to couer a multitude of sinnes, if I chauce to meet them in my passage; yet had I rather euer to shut mine owne eyes, than behold mine owne sorrow, and my mothers shame. With *Noahs* two modest sonnes, I purposely looke awry and goe backwards; not so much as to see that, which I haue no hands to hide, no browe to iustifie. Should I wander with *Acteon* in so wide a Forrest, my vnwarie eye-sight might unhappily glance on *Diana* naked, and make it selfe guilty, as well of danger as obseruation. But casting mine eyes on this learned and graue assembly, me thinkes I could promise my selfe as much liberty to speake, as truth prerogative to warrant. Can any prescription pleade a stronger immunity from the yoake of flattery, than the charter of the *Muses*? or any nation vnder heauen vaunt of a larger freedome, than the children of the *Prophets*? and yet here I may well feare, lest my obseruation may betray flattery to discovery, and my language to exception. Affraid I am almost to open mine eyes and looke abroad, lest I should espie flattery dispensing offices, conferring dignities, conniuing at offences, violating priuiledges, debasing worth, disgracing learning, and vndermining honesty. Flattery is not alwayes clothed in the same weeds or colours; she can put on blacke as well as white: in the seate of Iustice she can shew her selfe in purple, in the Court of Princes shee can strut in gaudy silkes, and (for ought I know) in the chiefest place of learning and religion, can shrowd her selfe in scarlet. There was a false *Lucifer* among the *Angels*, a wicked *Saul* among the *Prophets*, a trayterous *Judas* among the *Apostles*: and an easie inquiry, might heretofore, haue discovered a scycophantie *Sham* among the Doctors.

——— *Satis esse vidisse, reuerser.*

If adulation should bee now found to sojourne in our Cloysters, I could wish, by *Chusai*, shee should be taught her best office, which is the common good, and the Princes preseruation:

tion: so should wee neuer feare that censure, which *Tacitus* giveth of the *Romane Senators* lining vnder *Tiberius*, That they ambitiously stood vp in Senate, and stroue to out-vie one the other in seruile basenesse: much lesse should we deserue to bee laught at with those *Thebans*, who (as we reade in *Iustine*) sawning too much on *Philips* greatnesse, bought their new protection with the losse of their ancient libertie. But I haue too long intangled my selfe in this discourse of *Flatterie*, wherein (I feare) I haue neither obserued the time, nor flattered your patience. I must now briefly descend to the instrument of the disconerie, which in the next place presents it selfe to examination.

8. Almighty God, in bringing to passe matters of the greatest moment, rather makes than findes the fittest instruments; as one who would rather haue the subiect indebted to his choyce, than his choyce to our estimation. Hee, to whom it was as easie to create as suborne a creature, could as well giue as take occasion, and for his sacred purpose as soone fortifie the weakest, as single out the strongest. *Achitophels* politicke aduice suggested to *Absolon*, defeated by *Chusbai*, communicated to *Zadocke* and *Abiathar* the priests, is at length by *Dauids* seruants, discovered by a *Woman*, a *silly Maide*, whose vnexperienced youth, vnable sexe, and meaner estate, could expresse no other character than weakenesse; is notwithstanding design'd out by God as the choysiest instrument of securing the state of *Israel*, and a Kings deliuerie. The rarest workmanship is commended as much by the worst, as the best instruments; and it is Gods frequent practice (to speake with the Apostle) to make knowne the riches of his glorie on the vessels of his mercie. Our Sauour Christ, to whom all the Kings and Emperours of the earth owed obseruance, whose least alliance could haue royalized the basest familie, was pleased notwithstanding as an inmate to make himselfe a passage into this world through *Maries* neglected wombe; his cradle was no better than a cribbe, and his first entertainment no higher than *Iosephs* fortunes. Neither was his birth a better argument than his life and actions. He might haue breathed in the ayre of

of some Princes court a kingly education, or committed the tuition of his youth to the institution of the learned *Doctors*: *Rome* was then in her pride, and set the foote of her magnificence on the necke of the proudest nations. *Achens*, the mother of the *Gracian* wisdom, had long ere this triumphed in her fruitfull and glorious off-spring: And the *Scribes* and *Doctors* at *Ierusalem*, sitting in *Moses* chaire, could haue challenged a right beyond the *Dalphycke* Oracle: and yet we finde neither his knowledge fathered by the most famous teachers, nor his manners indebted to the severest institution. The shop of a *Mechanician* seemed his first *Academie*, the *Publicans* and *sinners* his familiar hosts and friends, and the poore fishermen, returning from their broken nets, admitted into the number of his choice Disciples. By which, wee Christians may be taught, not to repose so much confidence in the strength of our mighty and great confederates, as to neglect the industry and good will of our weakest and meane associates. *Virgils* silly Gnat could awaken the sluggish shepheard from his improvident slumber, to decline the approaching Serpent; and the impotent Pismire hath bin taught to rouse vp the sleeping Lion, to make an escape from the hunters snares. Thus wee finde the chaine of God Almightyes providence linkt together by so many dependant causes, began in *Gods* counsell, seconded by *Dauids* prayer, continued in *Chusbas* loyalty, and *Absolons* weaknesse, shut vp at length in the action of a silly *Maides* which as an introduction might leade our discourse a Scene further, to the last *Catastrophe*, and *Achitophels* bloody Tragedie: to which, having so much at this time trespassed on your patience, I shall (God willing) engage my next exercise.

HEE must needs runne, whom desperation leades, and the *Deuill* driues. That old Serpent that first set mischief a worke, scornes as much to retire, as delights to persevere, and neither slackes or stops his paece, till he finde the place of execution. How far his wicked industrie hath gone hand in hand with *Achitophels* treacherous designs, your present memory may witness, in my former exercise, and your attention. The

The defeate of his pernicious counsell, with the causes presenting themselves to the horreur of a guilty conscience, seconded as well with outward disgrace as inward discontent, turnes his owne weapon against himselfe, and makes his policie the most exquisite instrument of his owne destruction. This great Politician, whom (as the Oracle of God) the people of *Israel* had neuer suspected of inconstancie, or accused of indiscretion; whose wise service had instructed *Absolon* in all his parts, and so iudiciously (as it were) chalkt out vnto him the way to soueraignie, might seeme to deserue more in the eyes of *Absolon* than misprision. What lesse reward can our best industrie expect, or gratitude expresse, than acknowledgement or approbation? What greater euidence of present abilitie can our vnderstandings minister, or our hopes promise, than the stampe and seale of our former actions? Had *Chusai* euer shewed himselfe so wise, or *Achitophel* so weake, that *Chusai* in the scale should ouerpoize *Achitophel*? Shall the fancie of a shallow Courtier conquer the wit and experience of so great a States-man; and the smooth tongue of flattery, ouer-reach the deepe grounds of a settled iudgement? What then remaines for *Achitophel*, than by his sudden flight to expresse his noble indignation, and foreshew *Absolons* ruine in his owne? He will hang himselfe first, to teach *Absolon* the way to the same end; and to out-strip him in the last act, rather politickly preuent, than basely feare the shamefull stroke of execution: *And Achitophel saw that his counsell was not followed, &c.*

2. The Scene whereon we now enter, contains the last actions of *Achitophel*, whose *Catastrophe* shuts vp all in his shamefull end, and honourable buriall. The actions preceding his death, are expressed in these foure circumstances. 1. *That he saddled his asse*, 2. *That he went home*, 3. *That he put his house in order*, 4. *That he hanged himselfe*. In the first, we may obserue his *Tyrannie*, in imposing on his silly *Ass* the burthen of his transgression. In the second, his *Treacherie*, in leauing his Master in his greatest extremity. In the third, his worldly *Providence*, in preferring the preservation of his temporall estate before

before the preservation of his owne soule. In the fourth, his desperate *execution* of himselfe, in distrust of Gods mercy, and daring his iustice to the last extremity. The latter clause concerns his ceremonious funerall; which, howsoever in it selfe a passion, as we respect *Achitophel* as the subiect: yet so farre as it may haue reference to his former testament and ordination, wherein this may seeme included, it may be termed an action, wherein he shewed himselfe ambitious, to file and furbish ouer the staine of his shamefull life and end, with an honourable buriall. These are the lists of my present meditations, wherein as God shall enable my discourse, and your Christian patience second, I shall proceed in order, and first of the first [*He saddled his asse.*]

3. So contagious hath been the sinne of our first Parents, that it not onely vsurped iurisdiction on mankinde, the spawne of our Father *Adam*, but inuaded, without resistance, natures vniuersall Monarchy: in so much, as the Heauens, Elements, Plants, and Beasts themselves, by the diuine institution of their creation, as disdaining to serue ingratitude, are by the Apostle, said to groane vnder their tedious burthen, and desire to bee at liberty. Why the creature should desire this freedome, foure reasons are alleaged by *Peter Martyr* on the *Romans*. First, because of his perpetuall turmoiles & labours, seruing onely for the vse of man. Secondly, because they together suffer the same affliction. Thirdly, out of the sympathy and fellow-feeling of one anothers aduersity. Fourthly and lastly, which is the greatest of all, because they are constrained to become the seruile instrument of sinne, and by consequence, the subiect of Gods fury. This wrath of God, though general (as we haue said) to all the creatures, we find no where more legible than the silly *Ass*; a beast created, as it might seeme, to torture it self, to supply the defect of mans industry: wherein, according to the *Egyptian Hieroglyphickes*, nature seemes to haue patterned forth vnto vs the exact image of *Patience*, *Fortitude*, and *Frugality*; gifts not vnworthy the choice of the most generous temper, had not the sinne of man exposed them rather to scorne than imitation. Such is the vnchristian

stian censure of our supercilious times, who disdain to fa-
 lute vertue, except shee come accoutred in golden garments.
 Of this poore creature notwithstanding, whereof they scorne
 the name, they cannot want the vse. The ignominie of a
 seruile disposition is the reward of his best seruice; the pro-
 fitable fruits of his painfull industrie, the glorie and improue-
 ment of his Masters ambitious husbandrie. If such iniustice,
 offered by a man to a seruile beast, seeme opposite to the lawes
 common equitie, which commands euery thing his owne:
 how huge in the eyes of euery Christian Iudge swels their
 tyrannie, who command their seruants and inferiours to car-
 ry the burthen of their transgressions; as though they meant
 to ride them on the spurre with themselves to hell? The obe-
 dience of *Achitophels* Ass to serue him in this wicked action,
 was onely palseine, as of one to whom the law of nature had
 prescribed no other rule than his masters raines. But the
 sacred image of God, stampd in the reasonable soule of man,
 is to vs both law and libertie, as well to preserue the rights of
 Magistrates, as our owne priuiledge. An obedience we iustly
 owe to our superiours both *active* and *passive*, so farre forth as
 it may stand with the right of nature, and Gods honour, as
 that which God expressely commands, and no communitie can
 want. But when the sword of the Magistrate pretends a title
 to any part of diuine prerogative, it findes alwaies, in the way
 of resistance, the right of the cause, or sinceritie of a good
 conscience, whereon, as on a rocke of Adamant, it may sooner
 hacke it selfe to pieces, than make a breach for entrie. Hence
 wise Magistrates may be taught to exact no more of their in-
 feriours, than their commission from God dares to counte-
 nance, or their duty to him commands: much lesse in regard
 of their owne worth, to sleight the good offices of the mea-
 nest seruant. Our consciences and opinions are seldome so
 flexible, as our ioynts to fawne on greatnesse: neither is the
 iudgement of the wisest gouernour able so much to challenge
 a Monarchie in the weakest vnderstanding, as to command
 opinion. *Balaams* Ass could see the Angell of the Lord with
 his sword drawne against him, when his Masters eyes were
 shut;

shut ; and therefore had good reason to leaue beating his poor beast, when he opened his mouth to prevent his danger. But if any wise *Christian* desire the ministeriall offices of these fertile creatures, let them imitate the example of our *Saviour Christ*, who came meekely on an *Ass* riding into *Ierusalem*, wherethe Ensignes of gracious acceptance, and the shouts of *Hosanna's* applauded his arrinall: Not as *Achitophel*, who arose in haste, and went home to his house ; not like our *Saviour* to saue, but like himselfe to betray his friend : which is the next circumstance which awaits our obseruation. [*And hee arose, and went home to his house.*]

4 The truest touch-stone of friendship, is *aduersity*, which commonly vnmasketh our enemies to discouerie ; and singles out our best friends for triall. Here *Achitophel*, as an ill actor, fainted in the last Scene, and chose rather to shew himselfe what he was, than what he ought. His master *Absolon*, whom he had engaged to so great a danger, he left to greater. Sinke he might or swimme for him, as the windie gust of his new counsell, or the inconstant tyde of occasion pleased to befriend him. His great hopes, grounded on the rise of *Absolon*, hauing promised so much in the bud, beganne to wither ere they saw the blossome : And a vaine proiect it seemed vnto him to venture with a bankrupt, and out of his masters blasted field to expect a harvest. If *Absolon* will needes wed himselfe to his owne will, and his seducers counsell, let him runne his owne hazzard ; *Achitophel* stands engaged no farther, than his owne direction. If *Absolon* fall so short of his ambitious wishes, as *Achitophel's* wise augury, let him suffer alone himselfe, as not deseruing *Achitophel's* pitie or societie. Hee was once warned, and therefore twice armed, to withstand so weake an assailant as *Chusai* his fained friend. And why shall *Achitophel* shew himselfe so superstitious to obserue him, who neglects himselfe, and sleights his friends ? Two dangers here offered themselves at once ; the one the desertion of his young master, the other the neglect of his owne estate. But with a Politician the choyce is easie ; and therefore it is time to bye him home, to order his owne house, which had left

the Common-wealth in a combustion. His master might as well finde him absent, as neglect him present, and sooner meet him in his death than counsell. From whose example, a good *Christian* may be taught so much policie, to trye his friends in aduersitie, ere he trust them in prosperitie. Those vermines which vndermine the house, are taught to runne from the ruine, and quit that mansion which preserved them, because they neuer loued it further than it serued their own purpose. But a true friend hides himselfe as a glow-worme, obscured in the day of prosperitie, to reserue his light for the obscure night of aduersitie. *Chusai*, as wee haue formerly shewed, had lesse reason to suspect *Achitophels* head to want *Absolons* arme, than *Dauids* arme to want direction: yet to preferre the loyaltie of a friend, hee chose rather to cast himselfe on rash aduenture, than knowne experience, and hazzard the shipwracke of himselfe to saue a friend. If any man should demand how farre friendship may challenge a iurisdiction in our conuersation? God will answer, that he must first ioyne ere we shake hands. A true and iust amitie shines not so much in the subiect wherein it growes, as on the subiect whereon it workes; as that which desires not so much to purchase, as to deserue applause. It was a poore shift of *Naaman*, out of the sinceritie of his vnfaigned loue, to excuse his fained Idolatrie in this sort: *When I come into the Temple of Rimmon, and my Master boweth downe to the image, and leaneeth on my shoulder, and he leaneeth down with me, the Lord be mercifull vnto me in this thing.* Had his eye offended him, or his hand mistooke his message, he had not only sufficient warrant, but command to pluck out the one, and cut off the other: Much more are we warranted to dissolue the strongest contract betwixt outward friends, where God shakes his rodde betweene a friends impietie and our affection. But neither of these motiues found footing in *Achitophels* designe. Had the distrust or dislike of his Masters cause dissuaded furtherance, he had not suffered him so farre to runne beyond preuention. Had his motive afterwards grounded it selfe on iustice, hee might haue turned his counsell another way, rather to his masters good than his own
ruine;

ruine ; at least, by his submission he might haue pieced vp this breach of Treason, and haue cast his fortunes on so fauourable a calme as *Dauids* attonement, with his deere, though rebellious, *Absolon*. But *Absolons* case was desperate, his owne treason euident, *Dauids* remissiuē pardon vnlikely, his owne house vnsettled: and therefore out of the grounds of his owne worldly policie, he thought it more expedient to arise and go home to his house, and set his house in order. Which is the third, and comes next in order to be handled.

5 In setting of *Achitophels* house in order, wee may by way of explication, obserue two points. First, what we ought to vnderstand by his *house* : secondly, wherein this ordering of his *house* consisted. A house so far as the word οἶκος , in the originall language renders it, signifies as much as an *Artificiall receptacle fitted for habitation* : whence afterward by an apt *Metonomie*, expressing the place containing for the persons contained, it was taken for a *Familie*, as we finde in Scripture mention made of the *house of Saul*, and the *house of David*: in which sense *οἶκος*, or a house, is by *Aristotle*, in the first of his *Politickes*, defined to a daily societie of people dwelling together. And howsoeuer the name of family among the ancients seeme to deriue his originall from the societie of diuers seruants, liuing vnder one rooffe and regiment: yet vse hath taught it so far to enlarge it selfe, as to signifie a companie, consisting of three essentiall parts, to wit, of the *Husband* and the *Wife*, of the *Father* and the *Sonne*, of the *Master* and the *Servant*; the due administration of which, wherein euery member answers in harmonie to preserve the whole, we call *Oeconomie* or good husbandrie. An institution founded on the law of nature, as the first and strongest band of humane societie, and the first ground-worke of a common-wealth. The setting of such a house in order, which is the next point to be scanned, is either the generall administration of a family, which wee may call husbandry; or else a finall determination of matters, as we would they should stand at the time of our death, expressed in our last will and testament. Herein *Achitophel*, although a wicked caitiffe, scarce deserving a good Epithete, seemed to

shew as much piety as policy, in settling his estate by providence while he lived, which after his death, might be shipwrackt by dissension or confusion. So much of the image of God he had left vndefaced in him, as to shew him some obscure glimpse of eternity, to seeke that *being* in posterity by propagation, which the times disasters were readier to cancel than preserve. A president surmounting the example of many Christians of our times, who imagining all the world to be borne for them, and them for themselves, neglect former presidents, and stop the passage to all posterity, as if the line drawne out so many ages from their first father Adam, should breake off with themselves, and attaine its highest pitch in their perfections. It was a noble, though arrogant reply of *Iphicrates* to *Hermodius* in *Plutarch*, boasting too much of his continued line, and ancient nobility; *Nobilitas mea in me incipit, tua in te desijt*: wherein hee vaunted himselfe by providence and vertue to haue so much improved, as the other to haue decocted his fortunes and an ancient family. To lend posterity a head, may to a wise man seeme a greater glorie, than to borrow from ancestry a taile; and on the other side, to play away in sport our predecessors labours, a greater dishonour than to pisse on our Parents ashes, or raze their monuments. Amongst all the temporall blessings of Almighty God, promised or deriued as rewards to his faithful seruants, I finde none greater in holy Writ, than the multiplying of their seed, and spreading of their family. *Behold* (saith God to *Abraham*) *I will make of thee a mighty people*: And that which God in his especiall fauour prizes, as so great a guerdon to his best fauourites, shall vnworthy man esteeme a trifle, and value so farre below the rate? *He that provides not for his familie, is worse than an Infidell*, saith the Apostle. Not (I suppose) that a provident Heathen was absolutely to be preferred before a negligent professor: but that in this comparison of settling a mans estate after him, in regard of posterity; a wise Infidell might challenge a precedency before a carelesse Christian; according to that of our Saviour in the Gospell, *The children of this world, are wiser in their generation than the children of light.*

Herein

Herein Achitophels policy shooke hands with honesty, which seldome met before in consort: but no sooner could they meete, but part; as if they meant to meete no more. He settled his worldly estate on earth, but forgot his eternall hope in heauen. He reserued to himselfe out of all his legacies, the worme of a guilty conscience, which he could as well shake off as himselfe; which leades our discourse to a second obseruation, arising from this point, *That worldly wise politicians proue most unprouident for future life, and preferre temporall blessings before eternall happinesse.*

6. *Where a mans treasure is, there will his heart be also,* saith our Sau'our. Whence a reason may be rendred, why Achitophel, despairing of any portion among the Saints in heauen, set his minde to dispose of his possessions here on earth. Riches, which the wisest sort of *Philosophers*, haue esteemed no other than the complement of *temporall felicitie*, are the maine of their ambition, while the fruition of the eternall ioyes in heauen, stands as doubtfull in their hopes, as vnsettled in their opinion. But this prouidence in disposing worldly affaires, at the best, can be reputed no other than the childe of *Nature*, whose Mole-eyes, through the glimmering light of humane reason, can hardly pierce so farre as its owne spheare; much lesse through the clouds of humane ignorance, and the worlds contagious fogs, open to it selfe a passage to that eternall glory, to which none but the light of grace can direct or command an entrance. No maruaile then, if worldly men, hauing all their cares bounded in this world, runne alwayes in the same circle, and respect onely their owne center, disdain (as it were) any interest in any superior Orbe. This, they esteeme their highest heauen; without the which, with *Aristotle*, they can imagine neither *Locus* nor *Tempus*; neither place to containe their treasure, nor time to adde to their mortality: if at any time, by the permissiue indulgence of Almighty God, some sparkle of grace presents it selfe, it is but as the lightning, no sooner scene but lost; enough to shew it selfe, but too little to give direction; enough for their curiosity to dispute, but too much for their faith to apprehend: And

And therefore rather resolute they to set vp their rest in this world, which they know, than to hazard themselves on so dangerous a discovery, wherein they should shew themselves, at least diffident, if not desperate. This seemes to haue been the resolution of wicked *Cain*, who, although shut out from Gods presence, sought out a place in the land of *Nod* to build a Citie, which might beare his name, and preserve his family. Himselfe, as it were, branded with the blacke coale of reprobation, he quickly submitted to perdition, in this desperate resolution, *My sinne is greater than can be forgiven me*. His posterity, he committed rather to chance and policy, than to Gods protection; as though his owne care had been sufficient to vndermine the Diuine prouidence: or at least he had proued so good a proficient in the schoole of policie, as to work his owne desperate fortunes to his sons aduantage. Amongst many such examples of this kinde, which in this age of ours are too too frequent, I finde none more remarkable than of a certaine *Lawyer*, whom *Bellarmino* (as himselfe reports) in the time of his sicknesse comming to visite, and vrging vnto prayer and confession, replied, That he could wish, that prayer were made for his wife and children, whose welfare in this world he greatly tendred; for himselfe, as lost and desperate, he gaue ouer to perdition: *Bellarminos* obseruation of this desperate man, might, me thinkes, haue opened his eyes to haue seene that mylterie of iniquity, closed vp in their *Babylonish Hierarchie*. How many thousand soules, whom they ought to purchase vnto Christ, sell they daily vnto Sathan, to buy their owne gaine or greatnesse? as if they conspired, all in one, to shipwracke their hopes of another life in heaven, to bolster vp a *Papall Monarchie* here on earth. Their fire of *Purgatorie* had long since been extinct, had it not maintained the *Popes kitchen*. Their *Indulgences* had long since waxed stale, and layne vpon their hands, had not the costly marriages of the *Popes Nieces*, or rather *Daughters*, set them out in a new Edition, to make them vendible. The Idoll of their pretended *Supremacie* had wanted adoration, and *Peters imaginary Chaire* been broken and hurled to the ground, had not couetousnesse

on

on the one side, pompe and ambition on the other, as two supporters, laboured to keep it vpright: And little could St. Paul himselfe effect by his powerfull preaching among such *Arbrians*, with whom there is neuer wanting a *Demetrius*, a *silver Smith*; who, lest his shrines should want sale, will stoutly stand vp for the honour of *Diana's Temple*. Well may we call that a meere *politick religion*, or rather a *masked Atheisme*, wherein, Gods pretended seruice is set vp as a pillar to vnderprop an *Antichristian Hierarchie*; and Religion, which should command our best obseruance, becomes the slave and seruant to ambition. Herein *Achitophels* designe seemes to fall short of their industry: He sets his house in order, (for ought we find) without any sense of Religion, or prejudice to Gods Church. These men vse the sword of the Church against Religion, constraining her at once both to inflict, and smart at her owne wounds. *Achitophel* left the common-wealth in a combustion to set his owne house in order: but these fire-brands of State, set their owne houses in order first, that they may the more easily disturbe the good temper of a settled Common-wealth. *Achitophel*, for ought we know, shut vp all his treacherous designs in his owne execution; leauing as hereditary, rather the staine than the guilt of his odious treason to posterity. But these *Iesuiticks factours*, vnwilling to cut off the entaile of their traiterous inclinations, either by despaire or repentance; like a brood of Vipers, bequeath a legacie of their venomous quality vnto their off-spring: in which, as out of a *Cockatrice* egges, is hatched, preserved, and multiplied, the accursed spawne of treachery and sedition. Which last clause, leades our discourse to a second point, to wit, the consideration of *Achitophels* death, in that he hanged himselfe, which comes next in order to be handled.

7. In *Achitophels* death, you may with me obserue two especiall points; 1. *The cause*. 2. *The manner*. The cause, grounded on the motiue fore-mentioned in my former exercise, was *Despaire*: The manner of his death, as shamefull and ignominious as his life and action. To begin with Despaire, we shall finde it an infirmity of mans nature; rather deserving mende than indignation. A child it is, whom the guilt of sinne

begets on an euill conscience; which no sooner beholds the light, but couets darknesse, as if it made no more vse of life, than to instruct him the next way to death. In this bottomlesse pit of *despaire*, wherein no passenger could cast anchor, *Achitophel* now finds himselfe plunged; and therefore, as arrested by deaths immediate sergeant, prepares for his next appearance. Better dye once, than feare alwaies; and shut vp all mischiefes in one death, than spin out life in many mischiefes. Those lofty Scenes of State, wherein *Achitophel* hath either hitherto acted himself or prompted others, must now shut vp in an ill *Catastrophe*; and who fitter to end, than hee who began this Stately Tragedy? To liue at another mans beneuolence, seemes the smallest priuiledge of a subiect: to dye at his owne command, the greatest prerogatiue of a King. A base head-man must not share so great a glory, as the chopping off a head enriched with so much policy, nor Iustice seeme to entreate any other hands than his owne in his stately execution. Behold here the last resolution of this matchlesse politician, proposed afterwards (as it seemes) as a patterne to many high spirits amongst the *Heathen*; whose iudgements infatuated with false principles, misconster the badge of cowardise, for the most honourable scale of courage: as if it were a point of valour to shake hands with death, & faintly giue themselves ouer to his mercy, with whom, as an enemy, they ought to combate. True honour neuer feares to stare death in the face, but seldome courts it as a friend; often, as a corriuall, it struggles with it for victory: but neuer giues vp the hilts, or cries quarter; till ouer-masted by a greater and disproportioned strength, he finds them wrested from his hands. So great an impression notwithstanding got this wicked opinion of *selfe-killing* amongst the ancient *Romanes*, that a speedy dispatch of our selues in case of extremity, seemed to challenge as much honour, as with a *Christian* it deserueth shame; as we find it not recorded only, but in a maner recommended, by that turn-coat *Lipsius* out of the principles of his *Stoicall Philosophy*: whose broken rudiments he had (as it seems) better conned than *Christianity*. But how far out of our voluntary disposition, we ought to entertain the stroke of death, is not easie to determine with-

out distinction. A concurrence of our wils we may interpret two waies: either for a *Passive* obedience, indebted rather to constraint than choice, wherein Nature submits her selfe to Iustice or necessity: or an *Active* violence, derined for the most part from fear or rashnesse; wherein reason suffers her self to be led captiue by boistrous frensie, arming the strength of vnwilling Nature against her own bosome, & life, her sweet companion. The former concurrence of our assent, or at least submission to such extremities, we find warranted not only by permission but cōmand, so far forth, as the Iustice of the cause conspiring with a regulated conscience, imports necessity. Those blessed *Martyrs* of the Church, whose glorious wounds & scars, shine as so many orient pearles in their white robes of sanctity, haue markt & seald them out to posterity, as examples of the highest imitation. Those valiant *champions* in defence of their Country & Religion, exposed to the merciless iaws of death, or the bloudie phangs of vncertain hazzards in a Christian warfare, what age so enuious which will not crown with present honour, & register to future admiration? Yea, wicked malefactors themselves, in whom Iustice often preuents Nature in an vntimely execution, may seem to cancell some part of their former guilt, in giuing by their submissiue patience, the strictnes of the Law a iust satisfaction. And therefore without question, the sweetnes of life ought not to share so great a moyty in our affections, as to shut out our obedience, when either *Religion* stands at stake, or our *Country* craues our assistance, or *Iustice* challengeth her prerogatiue. The other exposure of mens liues to certain death, where necessity on either hand threatens apparant ruine without retriual, I could charitably interpret, as of *Sampsons* designe in razing the house to his own & the *Philistins* destruction, or of *Lucans* and *Seneca's* aduice in making choice of their owne death, by cutting their owne veines: but that Gods Almighty prouidence in our greatest designes, shewes it selfe most pregnant beyond mans expectation, & commands rather our patience than preuention. But for such vntimely and vn-naturall designes, wherein the hands are made instrumentall executioners to the heart, as prickt on with the horrour of a guilty conscience, and distrust of Gods fauours, neither *Christi-*

anirigane euer president, nor *Stoicall Philosophy* among all her strict axiomes a warranted precept; as an action odious both to God & man, w^{ch} begins with sin & ends with shame. Which leads our discourse from the immediate cause of his death, to wit, his *despaire*, to the maner & qualitie of it, his *shameful end*.

8 *Shame* is the sworne seruant vnto sinne, an odious but officious hagge; whom life could neuer entertaine without sorrow, or death easily shake off, till memory forfeit her records to time, and time to obliuion. Tis the misery of guilt with constraint to cherish in her bosome the childe she hates, and bequeath such a fatall issue to posteritie, whose browes shall carry the true stampe and character of her owne deformitie. And how great a soueraigntie soeuer sin might seeme to challenge in the spheare of humane nature, which our first Parents by their disobedience forfeited to her iurisdiction; yet shall in the end finde himselfe conquered, in that sinne liuing for the most part in darkenesse, shuts vp all her malice with death, while her vntoward babe shall suruiue to vpbraid her actions in the light, and arraigne her after death at the barre of Iustice. Had *Achitophel* been as prouident to preuent an ill report after death, as ambitious to preserue reputation during life, he had measured his actions by a better end, or at least in the euent directed his worst ends to a better purpose, than lose at the last cast which he was so long a winning, or haue stained the fame of his former actions with so base an execution. His eminent gifts of *Wisdom*, howsoeuer sorded and wicked in themselves, as directed rather to his own priuate ends, than Gods glorie, or the honour of the Commonwealth; might notwithstanding, out of a foreconceined opinion of his worth, haue found in the common voyce, a favourable construction. Old *vices* commonly find welcome vnder new names; and nothing so witty as *Sinne* to inuent new Epithets to shut out shame, and entertaine plausibilitie. *Laziness* and *lecherie*, the bane of nature, may passe currant vnder the title of *Good fellowship*. *Ignorant pride* and *supercilious contempt* may call themselves retyred *granitie*, or *stout magnanimities*. *Cripping Countenances* and *base P'sury*, may finde entertainment vnder the show of *shifty business*. *Thoures* and *Oppression*

shall be stiled *severe Justice* and *strict Government*. At least from each of these, common conniuece would make a shift to extract somewhat which might fauour of ingennitie, to couer guilt from the strict inquisition of truth, and stoppe the harsh mouth of censure : wherein at least it should shew it selfe no lesse ingenious, than *Aristotle* in his *Ethickes*, who in painting out to the life his Idoll *Megasthenes*, is obserued to haue stolne the chiefest markes of many notorious vices to character one imaginary vertue. No worfe, but rather better fauor, might *Achitophels* life seeme to haue deserued, especially amongst the common rout of his inferiours, who valuing the worth of their superiours, imagine them as eminent in wisdom, as they transcend in greatnesse, as if they conceived them fashioned in another mould, and wrought to another nature ; that the least slips or scapes which in ordinarie men wee can interprete no other than the effects of infirmitie, should in them bee thought to proceede from premeditated counsell, and mature deliberation, as critically directed to some especiall end or other in the State. But admit his sinfull proiects had laine open to discouerie, yet fauouring of a reaching wit or seasoned with discretion, they might seeme rather amongst vulgar iudgments, the fruits of politicke prouention, than humane weaknes. Our *intellectual* gifts we commonly value aboue our *Morall* vertues, and therefore hold it a smaller disparagement to be taxed of *dishonesty* than *indiscretion* : As if wee rather coueted an inheritance here amongst the children of this world, than to haue our names enroled with the children of light. Thus far *Achitophel* had carried his matters in such fashion, as might speak his wisdom though not his honesty. Had *Absolon* through his aduice, aduanced himself to the Throne of *Israel*, his notorious treason had passed for profound policy; neither could the world euer tearme that act treason, which is of a King, or for a Kings promotion. Had *Achitophels* proiect falne below expectation (as he did afterward) it was *Absolons* weaknesse to reiect aduice, not *Achitophels* to suggest the best counsell. But shift the Scene, and let the selfe same Theater which euen now found him plotting *Absolons* advancement, contriue the meanes and meanes of his owne death :

death; and you would imagine him all this while but to haue personated a wise man, and now in the end to resume his proper habit: like a certain beast of *Scythia* recorded by *Pliny* in his naturall history, whom he reports to be able to change himself into all variety of shapes & colours, yet returning to his owne forme, expresse the resemblance of an *Asse*. A good embleme of a wicked politician, who sitting as it were at the sterne of state, & holding the helme in his hands, must of necessity vary himself a thousand wayes to obey all winds, & second all tides. But *Nature*, w^{ch} is the worst dissembler of guilty actions, will one time or other betray it selfe to discouery, or at least plain-dealing. *Death* wil strip him naked, & lay him open vnto shame, & leaue him as a fool to mens cōtempt & Gods vengeance. *Shame* & reproach, the most vnwelcom guests to *Aschitophel* in his life, are here inuited as friends to bear him to his sepulchre; & the kind & maner of death most odious to God & man, is thought the safest and sweetest in his foolish choice. Among so many waies wherby euery man may make himself a passage to death, he must needs chuse the worst, to dye as a dogge on a tree, and make himself guilty aswel of his shamefull death, as the ignominious motiue. Death is the cōmon destinie of mankind; to feare or wish for death, is the mark of a coward & shame of a man. To end our course of life in a warm bed, is natures tribute, and the crown of siluer haire: to cancell cares in the field by the hand of an enemy, is the chance of war, & the honour of a souldier: To die by the sentence of iustice & stroke of the executioner, is a satisfaction of the law, & expiation of the guilt. But to die out of cowardise & despair, to die by the enforced violence of our own hands, to die as a theefe on a tree, not expiating the guilt of sin by giuing satisfaction to the law, or affording nature any right in expectation; &, which is more than all the rest, to quit the vexations of this world, to incurre greater in the next, & to treade with vnresolved feet that vnknown path of death, whose cōmon entrance shuts vp in as doubtfull an end, as celestiaall ioyes & infernall torments; what settled iudgement will not brand with the odious blot of extreamest folly? in sight and comparison of which, the greatest vanitie in the world should lose her name & seeme discretion.

Here may we see the weaknes of humane wisdom tutored by temptation, & directed by the comon enemy of mankind; as the strength of *Sampson* ouermasted by the wiles of *Dalilah*; which comonly affords the owner no greater courtesie than confusion, & their names and memorie no other Trophée, than a liuing shame, or a lying sepulchre. Which by occasion directs our enquiry to the third & last action, preordained (as it seemes) by himselfe in his life, but executed by his friends after death, his *pompous buriall*: *Hee was buried in the Sepulchre of his Fathers.*

9 Whether this last action of *Achitophel* bee rather to bee ascribed to *Achitophel himselfe*, as prescribed by his last Will & Testament; or to his *children* as their last duty & obligation to their dead Parent, we will make no long dispute. It seemes an act of both, wherein either partie may share an interest, as commanded by the one, & executed by the other. From each obseruation may be copied out vnto vs some vselful doctrine for instruction. In *Achitophels* providence in seeking to preserve his name & memorie, in so sleight a Trophée as a stone or statue, we may reade the shallow reach of many *politicians* of our age, ambitiously setting vp their garnished sepulchres in Churches & high places, as idols of admiration to bee worshipt by ignorant spectators: which, notwithstanding in a iudicious censure, liue only for a time to vpbraide their folly, and fall after a time into the dust & ashes, as the rotten bones they throwd vp in obliuion. Enuious time which hath eaten out the workmanship of so many famous Architects, & left not so much as stones or ruines for antiquitie to boast, or posterity to admire by the mouth of *History*, his best Secretary, might haue discovered the weaknesse of such confidence, as grounds it self on such vncertainties. *Babel* the greatest ambition of humane industry, vndertaken (as it were) by the ioynt handicraft of mankind, neither by disparitie of religions, or difference of languages as yet diuided into factions; wherein (as *Philo Iudeus* notes, and holy *Scriptures* not obscurely intimate) the chiefe men of ranke and estimation in engrauen stones sought to preserve their memory; what other legacie in her fall hath shee bequeathed to our obseruation, than the want of

discovery, the whetstone of diligent *Antiquaries*, & tortures of the most curious inquisition? How much better is the content of a quiet conscience, grounded on the assurance of Gods promises for future happiness, than such painted sepulchers, which present in a manner, nothing to posterity but their own ruine, and their founders weaknesse. Nevertheless, from this officious care of *Achitophels* children toward their deceased Father, may *Christians* bee taught the reuerend respect they owe to the ashes of their dead ancestors. The raising vp of monumentall statues to the memory of others, ought we rather to interpret the duty of *Posterity*, than the ambition of our deceased *parents*; yet in such wise, that they ought rather to humble vs, with the thought of mortality, than puffe vs up with glory of our Parents Nobility. Neither can such monuments, besides shame & infamie, (if erected to wicked men) expresse any other than the common Epithaph of mankind, *That he lived and died*. The greatest Tyrant in the world can command no more: the poorest beggar can challenge to himselfe no lesse. Hitherto, Beloued hath my discourse, seconded by your favourable attention; followed *Achitophel* through the by-paths and indirect passages of his life & actions, from the beginning of his conspiracy with *Absolon*, to his shamefull death and pompous sepulchre: whose story deserving a more able discovery than my poore discription, out of all these circumstances, will minister this one true and yndoubted Corollary: *That honesty is the best policie*. When worldly policy commonly hides her selfe in darknes, and *Proserpine* like, transforms her selfe into a thousand shapes, to auoid discovery; this one only dares boldly aduenture in the light, and iustifie all her actions: this one, courts no other likenesse than her owne, as not ashamed to present her face to view and censure. Finally, this alone, is sufficient to preserve a competent estate in this life, and after death aduance vs to Christs glorious Kingdome, where we shall raigne with him for euer amongst the Saints in heauen. To which Kingdome &c.

Des Tithonien in athenis.

